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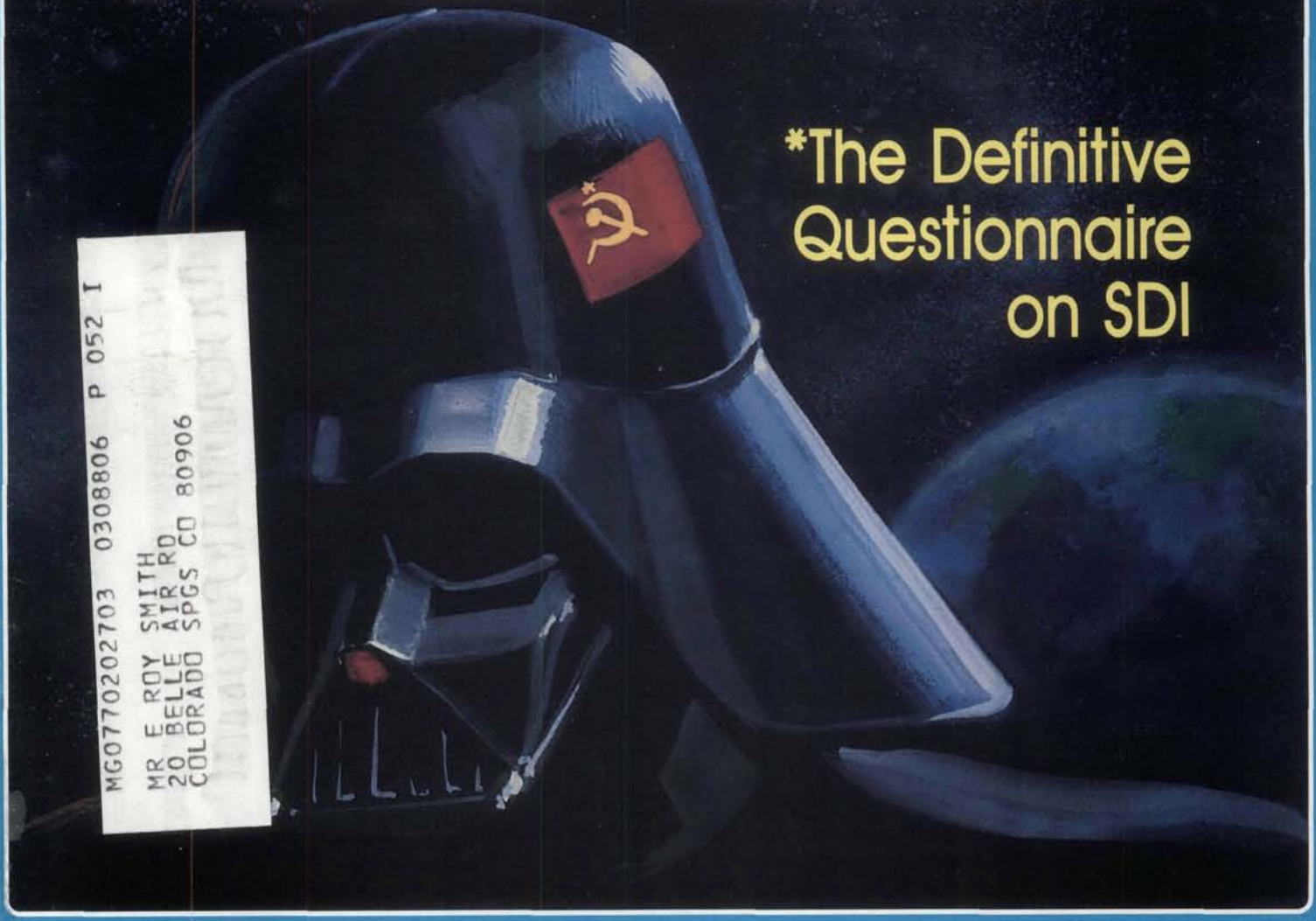

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Brian Crozier on Gorbachev's Quiet Coup

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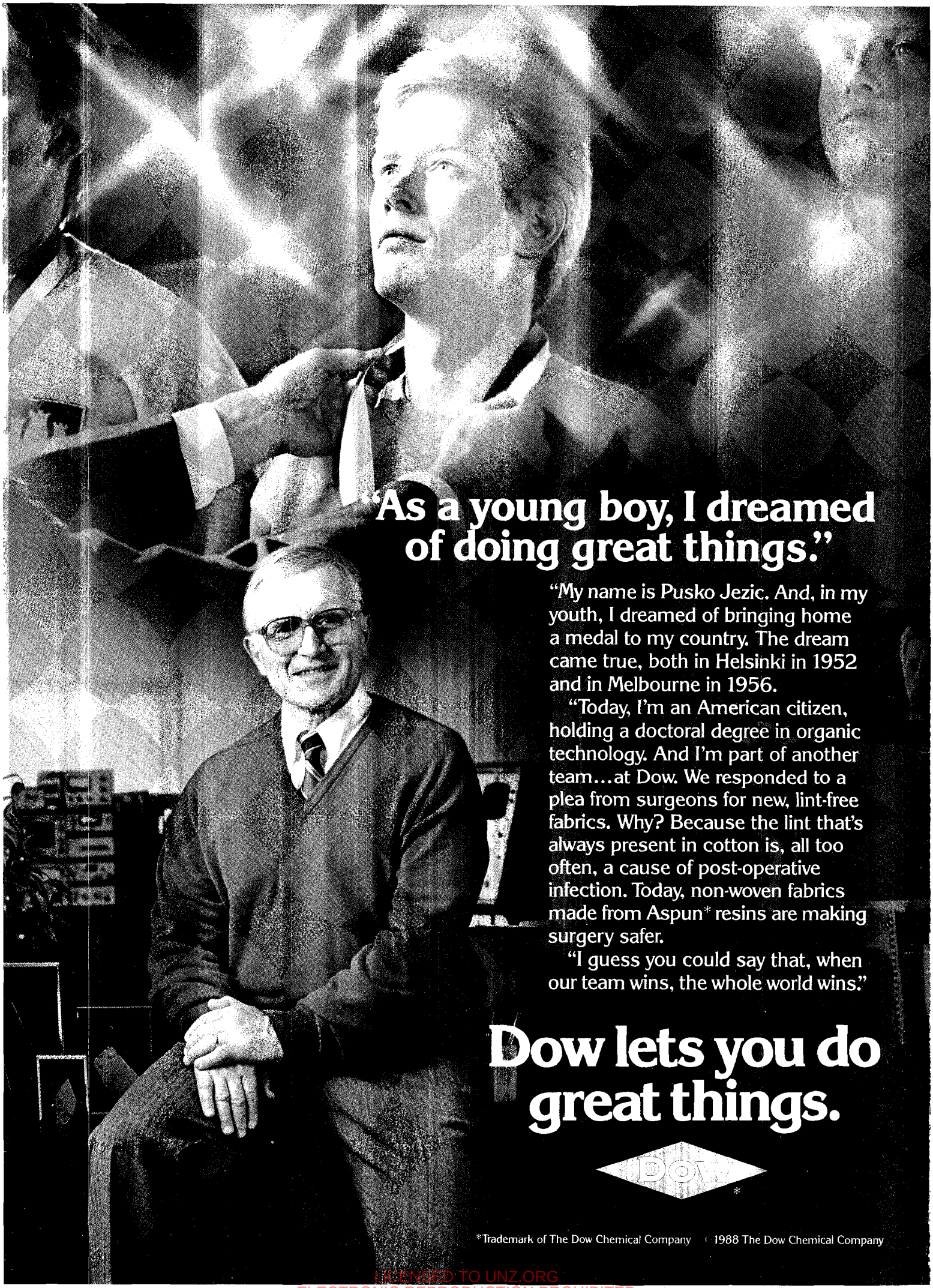

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THE COVER

36 SDI: Making America Secure
We call it the Defense Department, but during the era of the MAD doctrine, the one strategy our country abjured was defense. President Reagan's greatest contribution to America's future may well have been his effort to reverse this course, exhorting the strategic community to turn its attention away from retaliation and toward defense, exploring new technologies unavailable even a decade before. The result—the Strategic Defense Initiative—has been one of the most hotly contested military programs in recent memory, with genuine discussion overwhelmed by obfuscatory objections as numerous as decoys in a nuclear attack. Because NATIONAL REVIEW believes SDI to be one of the most important issues of our time, we asked the Technical Panel on Missile Defense of the George C. Marshall Institute, a think-tank specializing in public-policy issues relating to science and technology, to provide answers to the many questions that have been raised. The result is a definitive examination of why SDI is necessary, what sort of effort it will take, and how much has been done so far. President Reagan launched the Strategic Defense Initiative five years ago; if this country is to be secure, his successor must carry it through; and our panel of experts explains why.

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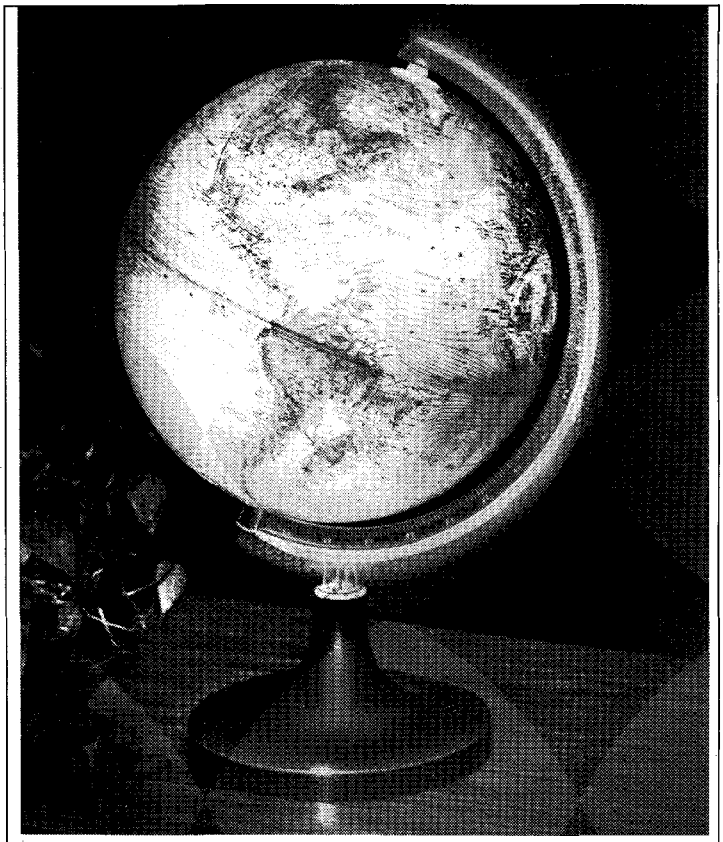

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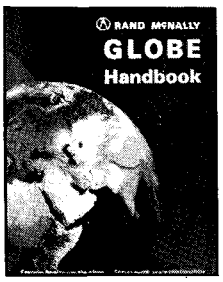

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LETTERS

Untouchable

Nice cover, nice idea, but "The Untouchables" [Mar. 18] lacked the political insight characteristic of Mr. Brookhiser himself or your magazine in general. Having written off Pat Robertson as a serious contender for President, Mr. Brookhiser glosses over the real meaning Robertson's candidacy has for the Republican Party and the nation as a whole.

As Mr. Brookhiser hints, the reason Robertson is doing well is the same reason he can't win: his main support comes from the Religious Right, which feels that prayer can inspire God to produce direct and tangible influence on earth—including, if you will, stopping hurricanes and curing cancer. But since most Americans do not have such strong convictions but, rather, are short-sighted, undisciplined, and hedonistic, Robertson will never be elected.

Mr. Brookhiser says Pat Robertson will be in New Orleans, and, yes, he surely will. More important, he will be there with thousands of new or previously Democratic votes and with two key issues—a strong national defense and a traditional/moral America—that neither Bob Dole nor George Bush has any affinity for. The two front-runners have abandoned the issues that identify Republicans as Republicans. And without Robertson's issues, come November, the people will not be able to distinguish our candidate from the Democrats'. If the election is close, the Democrats will win; they haven't lost one in which the vote spread between the winner and loser was less than 5 per cent since 1898.

Pericles Regigo
Memphis, Tenn.

Poli-Sigh

Bravo to Jeffrey Hart for exposing an example of the lunacy that passes for academic work in graduate (ha-ha) schools ["Hooey in the Seminar," Feb. 19]. It brought back unpleasant memories of graduate study I recently undertook in political science at a well-known Eastern state university. For "Women and Public Policy," students were required to read the blabbings of Mary Cunningham (the Gidget of Detroit) and convicted murderer Jean Harris. *This* is political science? "Mass Media and Politics" brought ex-hippie Todd Gitlin (now himself a professor) and Hunter S. Thompson.

Needless to say, I left, but in order to do my part in setting academia Right (Bill Bennett can't do it alone), I will pursue my career. Thus, if you publish my letter, kindly withhold my name. Academia is full of vengeful liberals—ask Judge Bork—and reading *NR* may make admission to a program impossible.

Name Withheld
Westmont, Ill.

While students at Stanford are chanting "Hey hey, ho ho, Western culture's gotta go" ["The Week," Feb. 19], students at the New School for Social Research in New York seem to be proving that actions do speak louder than words.

The BA degree program at the New School is based entirely upon electives, the students thereby being able to "create an individualized program that reflects who [the student is] and what [the student wants his] education to accomplish," according to the Dean. He is quick to add, correctly, that the student will find "a distinct emphasis on the liberal arts, the foundation of our culture."

The students at the New School, however, appear to have used their franchise to all but bury courses pertaining to the "foundation of our culture." Last semester, one of the courses for which I had registered, "Political Philosophy: Ancient Greece to the Renaissance," was canceled because of undersubscription. This semester, I learned that I was one of only two students who had registered for "Political Philosophy: Machiavelli to Marx," and one of only four who had registered for "The Classical Heritage in Education." Both courses were canceled.

Altogether, these developments seem to be a poignant illustration of the students' approach to their education, and an especially sad chapter in the history of the institution that was the first academic refuge of Leo Strauss in America.

Christopher P. Daly
Manhasset, N.Y.

Moldy Figs, Unite!

As a conservative Republican and a steady reader of *NR*, I was delighted by Ralph de Toledano's piece in the February 19 "Books, Arts & Manners." I am also one of the so-called "moldy figs."

I'm a lover of the "swing band" era and the small jazz groups such as the ones Dick Wellstood and Art Hodes

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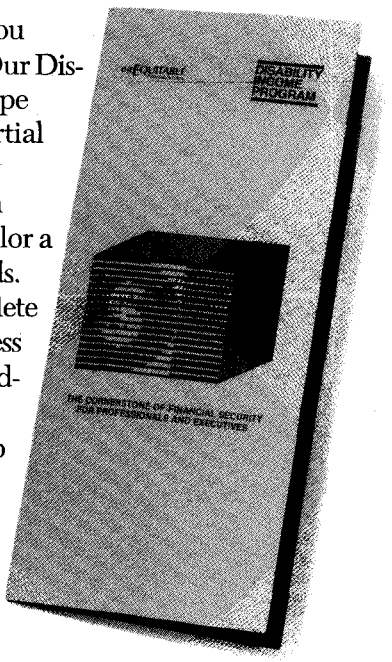

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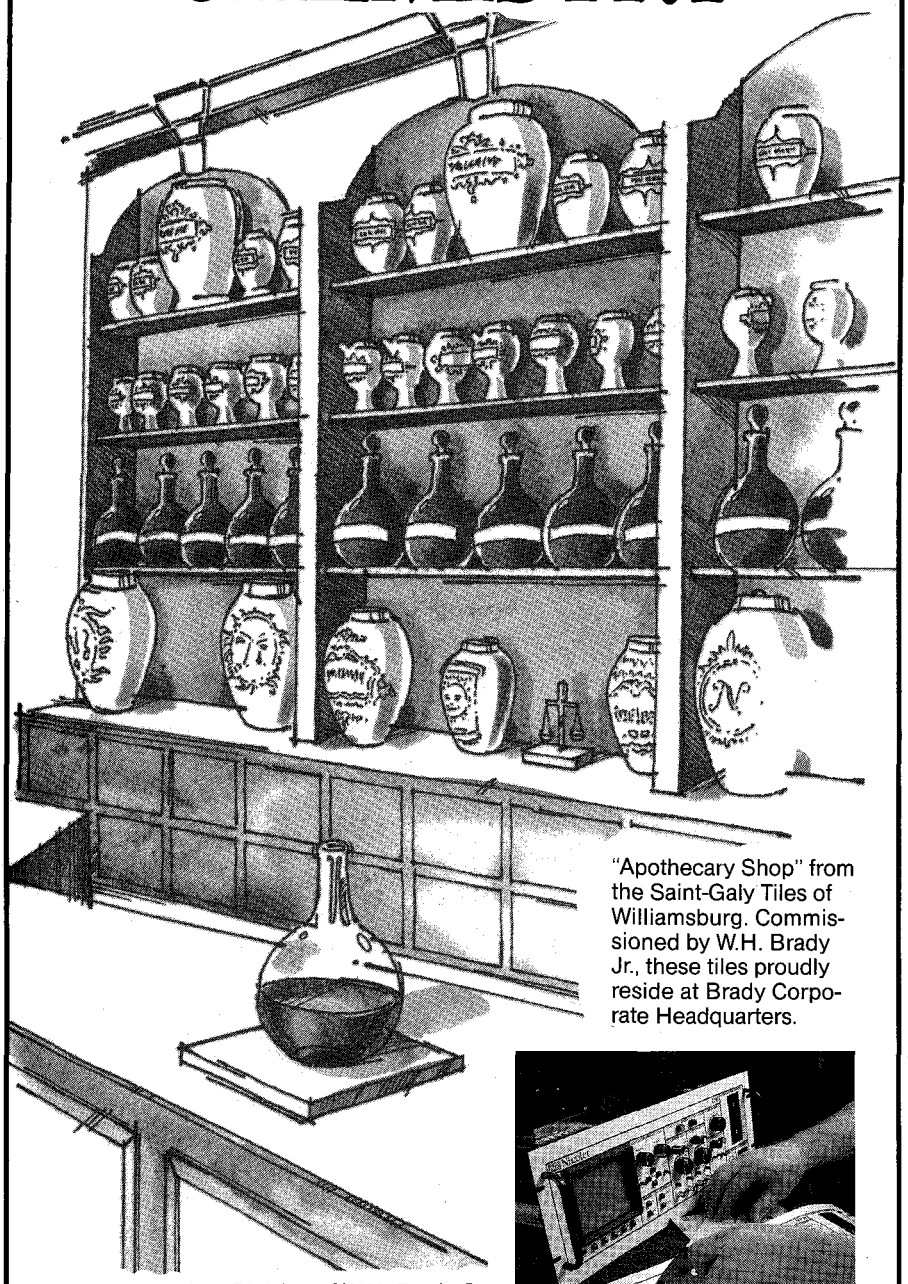

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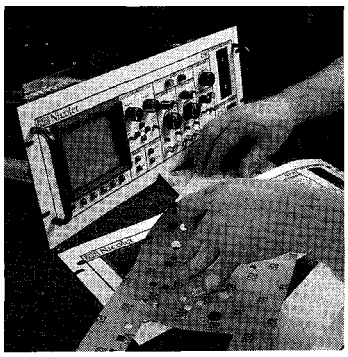

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have played in. I have seen and heard Dick and Art many times and also collect their records. Besides politics, I was glad to read a bit about jazz, too.

Joseph Batja
Middle Village, N.Y.

A Word from the Author

In his review of my book *The Key to Failure: Laos and the Vietnam War* [Feb. 19], John Roche has described his reaction to an anonymous memo sent him in the White House some time in 1967. Whoever its author and whatever its content, it had no part in my book or in the memoranda described in it. There was one shared element—discussion of the need to shut off Hanoi's steady invasion of South Vietnam through Laos—the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

Mr. Roche "disproves" the military feasibility of this by arguing that our forces in the South were high-tech and support personnel incapable of fighting Hanoi in Laos. If, by 1967, that was true, it only proves that we didn't make the right strategic decision in 1964.

But, says Mr. Roche, "If we had positioned a force in Laos, the North Viets could simply have done an end run across the Mekong into similar terrain in Thailand and enveloped our troops." Why Hanoi would deliberately expose its main forces to the full power of the U.S. and SEATO in Thailand, far from the coveted prize in South Vietnam, in terrain easier for us to fight in than the mountains and jungles of South Vietnam, is difficult to grasp.

Mr. Roche says we could not stop the invasion "for domestic political reasons and the reluctance of 'McNamara's band' to make a fighting force out of ARVN." What were the political reasons? Why was McNamara reluctant? This is the book's central theme. Let me summarize it.

Our government suffered a failure of the power of decision because it was prone to a certain "way of thinking" that subtly excluded the only two real decisions open—to defend against an invasion or not to defend. This "way of thinking" started with the Bay of Pigs disaster, which commenced the bifurcation of our policies toward Laos and South Vietnam—which are strategically inseparable. It continued with Averell Harriman's acceptance of a valueless, oral promise by the Soviets to ensure Hanoi's compliance with the Laos neutralization he had negotiated at Geneva in 1962. It flowered with his persuasion of JFK that Communist re-partition of Laos and reversal of its neutralization were based on a "tacit agreement" with

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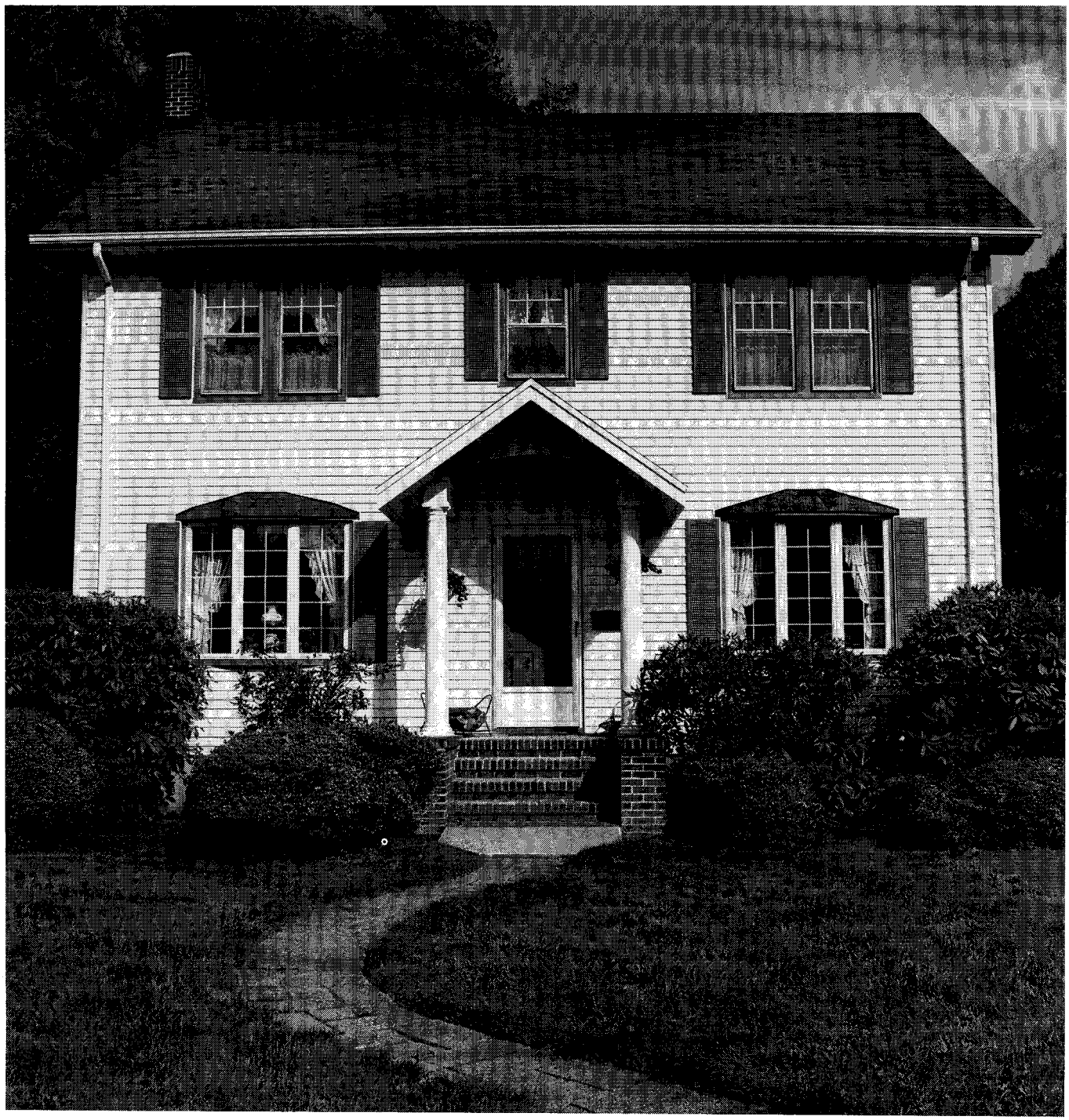

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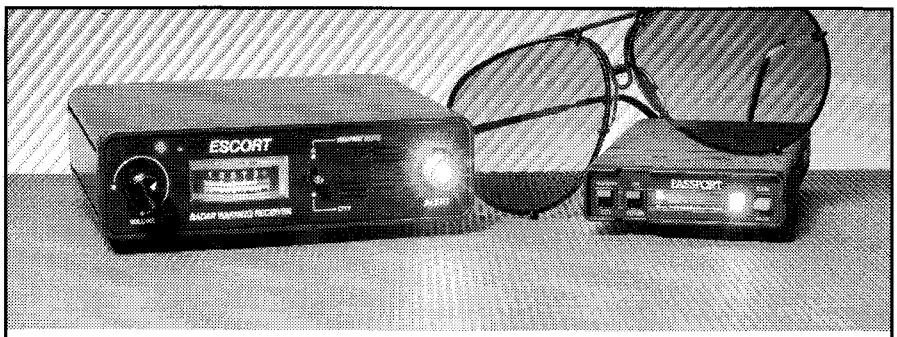
us and could work to our interest by postponing the Laos question until the outcome was reached in South Vietnam —an outcome rendered inevitable by this very "tacit agreement."

General Maxwell Taylor called it a "tacit understanding." Secretary McNamara, in 1965, argued it required the U.S. to "condone" Hanoi's use of Laos and Cambodia against South Vietnam. Kissinger called it an "uneasy equilibrium." Its emasculating core was inscribed by Congress into law in the 1970 Cooper-Church Amendment, forbidding U.S. ground forces to enter Laos or Cambodia.

In implementing this "tacit agreement," the U.S. avoided the hard choice and incrementally deployed the half-million-man army that Mr. Roche, in 1967, found incapable of stopping the invasion through Laos—the only proper function for an American army. This is what we want to avoid when we say "No More Vietnams."

Norman B. Hannah
Bethesda, Md.



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Political Missiles

Mr. Bethell's article "Arms Control: The Untold Story" [Feb. 19] was his usual well-written and perceptive piece—until toward the end when he disparaged the Midgetman small ICBM as essentially a Democrat's missile and an unworkable system. This part of the article was clearly based entirely on discussions with my friends Richard Perle and Frank Gaffney, and it is not correct.

The small ICBM is not merely a creature of the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, Harold Brown, and congressional Democrats; and it is most unhelpful to the nation's security as well as to defense bipartisanship to bestow upon the system a partisan label. Besides, it is not true: the small ICBM is also a Republican missile, and we should not allow the Democrats to claim it as their own. It was a recommendation of the 1980 Reagan Department of Defense Transition Team, which I directed. It was a major recommendation of the Reagan Administration's Commission on Strategic Forces (Scowcroft Commission). I am generally regarded, correctly, as a conservative, and I continue to support the small-ICBM program. So does, e.g., Jack Kemp. So does the Committee on the Present Danger.

A viable mobile-ICBM program is essential to the preservation of the land-based ICBM force, at least pending a decision to defend the force against ballistic-missile attack. The small ICBM lends itself to mobile measures far better than does the large MX/Peacekeeper. Besides, it would be imprudent to leave the United States with only the latter ICBM modernization program, especially before we see the outcome of START. Were a START treaty based on current numbers to eventuate, having only the 10-RV Peacekeeper would probably spell the end of our land-based ICBM force.

Mr. Bethell's vivid description of radical interference with the movement of cruise missiles out of Greenham Common, England, is chilling, but the answer is not the cancellation of mobile-systems programs. Nor is what he describes necessarily applicable to the U.S. and a variety of sensible ways to operate the Midgetman. After all, nuclear warheads are moved about regularly in the U.S. by land transportation; and nuclear delivery systems—some mobile—are dispersed in many parts of the U.S., without systematic disruptive incidents.

William R. Van Cleave
Director, Center for Defense and Strategic Studies
Southwest Missouri State University
Springfield, Mo.

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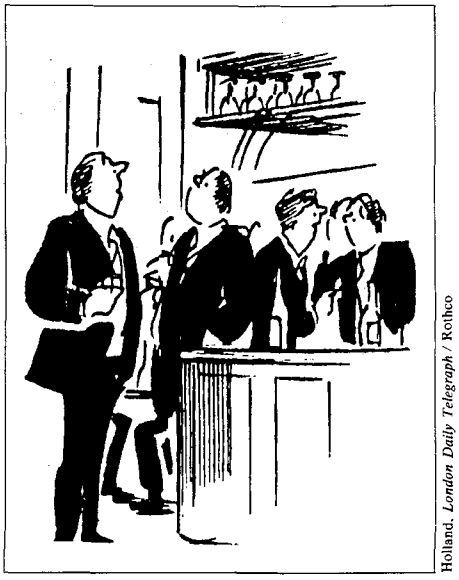
FOR THE RECORD

Good-bye wimp: When the smoke cleared, **George Bush** had swept the board, moving from triumph in South Carolina to carnage on Super Tuesday: a clean sweep of the 16 Super Tuesday states holding primaries, racking up 578 delegates for a total of 705, which puts him past the halfway mark. . . . ABC exit polls showed him sweeping by **Bob Dole** and **Pat Robertson** with every category of voters. . . . "It's one of the great wipeouts of all time," commented CBS's Bob Schieffer. . . . New York's **Alfonse D'Amato**, a Dole supporter, put as good a face on the Dole debacle as he could: "It's not over until the fat lady sings," he commented, but the barometer was falling. . . . Last-minute endorsement by conservative heavyweights **Jeane Kirkpatrick** and **Strom Thurmond** helped Dole not a bit with Southern voters, who trooped to the polls to support **Ronald Reagan**'s faithful lieutenant. . . . Ahead for Dole, this week's Illinois primary, where, even before Super Tuesday, he trailed Bush by 12 points. Bush has the support of Gov. **James Thompson**'s organization. . . . Scratch **Jack Kemp** and Pat Robertson. Says Republican consultant **Eddie Mahe**, the first Republican to take Robertson seriously: "[Robertson's] come and gone."

On the Democratic side, scratch **Simon** and **Hart**, and very possibly **Gephardt**; move **Albert Gore** back into contention. Gore, with some important last-minute endorsements from white Southern Democratic establishment figures (former Gov. **Charles Robb** of Virginia, Sen. **Sam Nunn** of Georgia, Gov.-elect **Buddy Roemer** of Louisiana, former Attorney General **Griffin Bell**, Sen. **Howell Heflin** of Alabama—Heflin was the fink in **Bork** hearings), took six Deep South states. **Jesse Jackson** won five, as did **Michael Dukakis**, but the two Southern states Dukakis got—Florida and Texas



Holland, *London Daily Telegraph* / Rotheo

"I told you short-termism wouldn't last long."

—are far from typically Southern. . . . Democratic National Chairman **Robert Strauss** thinks Dick Gephardt is "in deep trouble," but refuses to predict who will be the Democratic nominee. "I don't play guessing games at this stage. I'm not that foolish." Strauss points out that there will be six hundred uncommitted "super-delegates" in Atlanta, and that they may hold the decisive votes. The super-delegates are Democratic Party officials with assured seats in Atlanta under this year's convention ground rules, which are designed to prevent the special interests from taking over the convention as they have since 1972. . . . With Jackson assured a prominent role in Atlanta, he's proving a magnet to fringe groups. The Greater Boston Lesbian and Gay Political Alliance has endorsed him over Dukakis, who has a record of favoring gay rights. **William Sloane Coffin**, head of the merged SANE/Freeze, has endorsed him: "[Jackson] best represents the demands of the U.S. peace movement." **Amy Carter** has endorsed him because he is the only candidate who is "good on women's issues," "supports gay rights," and "talks about justice for the Palestinians and justice in Nicaragua."

Other races: According to *Washington Times*, Republican Senate campaign chairman Sen. **Rudy Boschwitz** is trying to persuade former Navy Secretary **James Webb** to run against Charles Robb in Virginia for seat Republican Sen. **Paul Trible** is relinquishing. . . . Another possible candidate, according to *USA Today*, is **Oliver North**. . . . Retired Army general and former West Point football star **Pete Dawkins** will run against Democratic Sen. **Frank Lautenberg** in New Jersey, an uphill battle. Rutgers/Eagleton poll shows Lautenberg 44, Dawkins 16 per cent. . . . In New Mexico, **Rick Montoya**, a conservative Hispanic and a former Assistant Secretary of the Interior, will take on liberal Democratic incumbent Sen. **Jeff Bingaman**. Bingaman is vulnerable.

Right on: **Joseph Story** Award Banquet will be held at Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., on March 24 to honor Judge Robert Bork and Professor **Raoul Berger**. . . . University of Cincinnati conservatives plan to bring out biweekly *Cincinnati Review*. Anyone interested should contact editor **Greg Clausen**, 2300 Auburn Ave., #304, Cincinnati, Ohio 45219 . . . For info on the Free University's International Summer School on East-West Relations in the Era of "Glasnost" (Georgetown University, June 5 to June 17), contact Edward Lozansky, 4301 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008. Faculty includes Lt. General **James Abrahamson**, SDI Research Program, authors **Robert Conquest** and **Edward Luttwak**, U.S. Chief Arms Negotiator **Max Kampelman**, former Assistant Secretary of Defense **Richard Perle**.

When Europe's reigning monarchs ignored requests for telegrams of congratulations on the occasion of Rumanian dictator **Nicolae Ceausescu**'s seventieth birthday, Ceausescu was not undone. He had his lackeys forge flowery greetings from Britain's Queen **Elizabeth**, Sweden's King **Carl Gustav** and Spain's King **Juan Carlos**, which were run in the Rumanian press.

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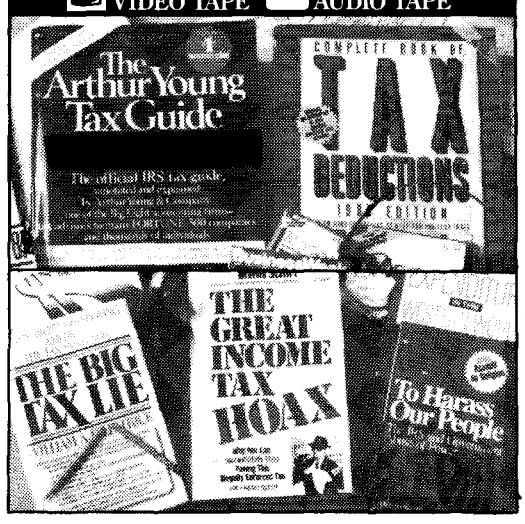

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THE WEEK

☐ The government's index of leading economic indicators fell in February for the fourth month in a row, but no one seems unduly alarmed. The index, you see, has predicted nine of the last two recessions.

☐ What will the President do besides visiting Moscow? Maybe the Tolstoi estate? The Hermitage Museum? Other Soviet sights? The first choice now seems to be Helsinki, to symbolize his concern for human rights. Yes, that's it, the site of the 1975 accords on human rights, violated before the ink was dry, and then on to Moscow for another treaty.

☐ ELECTION YEAR TALE. All last year there were howls from the farmers—one of the nation's best organized and most powerful lobbies—about widespread foreclosures. Family farms were going out of business in droves. Farm-state legislators took notice. Congress passed a bill in December. President Reagan signed it in January. And come June the Farmers Home Administration (FHA) will stop trying to collect $7 billion in bad loans and instead—as instructed by the legislative and executive branches—start the long business of writing these loans off or down. The loud hosannahs that greeted this announcement did not quite drown out the lone voice of an FHA official in Indiana who suggests one way to control the huge surpluses that keep down farm prices is to let farmers go out of business. "Perhaps we have too many farmers," says Oscar Blank. Fire that man.

☐ Ed Meese failed to rend his garments at the sight of ten words buried in a MEGO memo on a proposed Iraqi pipeline, and Meese's enemies want this added to the tally of sins being investigated by the special prosecutor. This is not the special prosecutor who investigated Mike Deaver, nor is it the special prosecutor investigating Iran-Contra, but a third special prosecutor, specializing in Meese. (He is the *second* Meese special prosecutor, the first one—who investigated the cufflinks—having retired from the field empty-handed.) All of which suggests two alternative ways of doing business, both heretical. Either a) Congress goes after people it dislikes, or suspects of wrong-doing, or both, in the way it always used to: by means of committee hearings, leading, where necessary, to impeachments. Or b) if special prosecutors are here to stay, then let us establish a blue-ribbon trio, perhaps of retired jurists of high repute, to investigate the Wright-Coelho end of Pennsylvania Avenue, as well as the Meese end. The first alternative would diminish buck-passing; the second would ensure that, so long as the executive and the legislature are locked in a war of all against all, both will be armed.

☐ In Memphis, 37-year-old Jacqueline Smith was evicted last month from the Lorraine Motel, where she had lived for 11 years, having refused an eviction order on the familiar grounds that poor people shouldn't be forced out of a neighborhood. Before several county deputies used a tire iron to open her door, the motel's last tenant told reporters, "If I can't live at the Lorraine, I'll camp out on the sidewalk out front." The scene drew no outraged demonstrators for the homeless, no mob seeking justice for the underprivileged. The Reverend Al Sharpton has had nothing to say. Miss Smith was being evicted because Martin Luther King Jr. died in the Lorraine Motel, and it is being converted into an $8.8-million civil-rights museum.

☐ Bi-partisan anti-Communism is not quite dead. The Senate passed, 77 to 0, a resolution urging the Administration not to cut off aid to the Afghan resistance until *all* Soviet troops are out. (See "The Afghan Trap," p. 34.) But the State Department has all but concluded an agreement under which the aid would be stopped when the Soviets *begin* removing their forces. The agreement would allow the Soviets ten months to leave, even though the Defense Intelligence Agency estimates that they would need as little as thirty to forty days—assuming they're serious about

Give Gore an Oscar

At fish fries, sporting braces, he
Tossed horseshoes with the yeomanry,
Sniffed snuff and stuffed some in his mouth,
Then, smartly tailored, left the South.

W. H. VON DREELE

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

DOES RONALD REAGAN hate the Contras? Or has he just forgotten about Nicaragua? Given his Administration's recent behavior, some such hypothesis seems necessary. Just take a peek at the recent twists in the Contra-aid saga.

Last month, the White House sent Congress a $36-million request to extend logistical and military support to the rebels, despite the warnings of every nose-counter in Washington that such a contraption would not fly. It didn't. This month, the Administration encouraged Republicans and conservative Democrats to oppose an admittedly anemic aid package crafted by Democrats, despite the Contras' own pleas that they accept what the Democrats offered. With President Reagan's tacit blessing, that Contra-aid proposal was killed.

Republicans and conservative Democrats in the House should have suspected that they had been led astray minutes after they voted to dump the Democrats' plan. First, the Sandinistas announced their conviction that the House's action would help advance the Central American "peace process." Then, a Contra spokeswoman, Marta Sacasa, told the Associated Press she was "despondent" over the same event. True, in defeating a Contra-aid package written by the left-leaning lieutenants of House Speaker Jim Wright, Republicans managed to embarrass the Democrats. But if that isn't a pyrrhic victory, what is?

Ask Republicans that question, and they will tell you they have the liberals right where they want them. They say they defeated a plan that would have extended basic supplies to the Contras, but would have excused the fence-sitters in Congress from supporting additional aid in the future. They deride the Democratic package as little more than a feeble attempt to salve the consciences of erstwhile Contra-bashers who want to assure voters they are not wimps when it comes to Communism. Finally, Republicans say they have exposed the gimmickry of the Democratic effort, clearing the way for the passage of a "legitimate" Contra-aid package.

It's tommyrot to say that it will be easier to win support for souped-up Contra-aid legislation now that the liberal Democrats have been humbled. In fact, it will be a lot harder. Not much of anything moves on the House floor without the say-so of Wright & Company. Needless to say, that group is in no mood to do the Republicans any favors.

With the fate of his troops hanging in the balance, Contra director Alfredo Cesar told Cato the night before the House's March 3 vote that a "private consensus" existed among Contra leaders for the Democratic package. They believed it was the only plan that could pass without controversy. But Cesar said that the Contras' decision-making directorate was unable to announce its sentiments publicly because it was being "heavily warned by the Administration" not to do so. "It is like walking on thin ice," Cesar continued.

If the Contras didn't like what was happening then, it is hard to believe that they will like what happens next. A bi-partisan group of conservative senators spent the past week trying to concoct a plan that would provide the Contras with more aid than the Democratic plan envisioned ($14.6 million over four months for food, medicine, and clothing). It would provide them with more money for communications equipment, probably assign the CIA the task of distributing supplies until the Contras arrive at a permanent ceasefire with the Sandinistas, and guarantee another vote on Contra aid in June. But it will never pass, or at least not so long as the Democrats who run the House stay mad.

An alarming number of conservatives insist that doesn't matter. John McCain, the junior senator from Arizona, calls the Democratic proposal "death on the installment plan" and says it would be better to call it quits now than to keep stringing the Contras along with dribs and drabs of uncertain support.

By this logic, it is better to force the Democrats to go on record with their opposition to the kind of Contra support favored by conservatives. "Three years from now, we want to be able to point the finger at the Democrats and say, 'You lost Nicaragua,' " says one GOP Senate aide with close ties to the Administration.

Whoa. So it is just a political issue? And what about the folks we've been arming all these years. Are they chopped liver? The irony is that the conservatives' abandonment of the Contras is coming just as the policy they have supported has begun to bear some meager fruit. The Sandinistas are sitting down to negotiate with the Contras, whose bargaining position has hardly been aided by the antics in Washington.

Three years from now, Republicans may be able to blame the Democrats for Nicaragua's collapse and capture a few new House seats in the bargain. But that will be cold comfort to those living under unchallenged Sandinista rule. —CATO

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withdrawal. What's baffling is that the Senate should be more Reaganite than Ronald Reagan's own State Department.

☐ Halfway around the globe, in the chilly waters of the Black Sea seven to ten miles off the coast of Crimea, two Soviet naval vessels ram two United States warships. Ten days later, closer to home, Secretary of the Navy James Webb resigns. The two events, seemingly discrete, together cast a cloud over the future of the U.S. as a maritime power. The astonishing Soviet attack on U.S. ships traveling in international waters (the Soviets claim a 12-mile limit; the U.S. recognizes a three-mile limit) indicates the growing strength of the Russian navy and its willingness to challenge U.S. naval power. Meanwhile, the Administration's decision to abandon the goal of a six-hundred-ship navy—considered a bare minimum for protecting our far-flung interests from the Mediterranean to the Pacific Rim—shows the growing political strength of domestic forces that are willing to accept American retreat. James Webb, combat veteran, war hero, successful novelist, deserves another gold star for bringing to the nation's attention the ominous

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gap between America's commitments and interests, and our capacity to serve them by maintaining the freedom of the seas.

☐ Shortly before his release from a Soviet prison, and then from the Soviet Union itself, Natan (at that time known as Anatoly) Sharansky met a fellow inmate also about to be sent to Israel and, like 70 per cent of Soviet émigrés, planning eventually to move to the United States. The man was not, though, a Jewish political prisoner, but a longtime swindler. "The KGB is helping me," he explained. Sharansky was startled but, according to the 1988 report of the President's Commission on Organized Crime, his acquaintance was not the only Soviet citizen to benefit from a large-scale, Mariel-inspired "airlift" of convicted criminals, posing as Jewish émigrés, to the United States. According to the report, the 200,000 former Soviet citizens who have set up housekeeping in this country over the past twenty years "have included significant numbers of criminals forced to leave Russia"—murderers, rapists, and, especially, thieves. In New York City alone there are reported to be 12 "Russian Mafia" organizations, some affiliated with the Genovese or Colombo crime families. Other cities, including Los Angeles, Chicago, Dallas, Cleveland, and Boston, also serve as headquarters to Russian groups supporting themselves through jewelry and fur theft, drug-trafficking, extortion, and fraud. Some "Jewish" émigrés have also turned out to be spies for the KGB. Nikolai Ogorodnikov, convicted in 1985 of conspiracy to commit espionage, had spent ten years in Soviet prisons on six criminal charges, mostly burglaries but including one rape. Part of the problem is that these Russians are used to a criminal-justice system considerably tougher than our own: they're just not afraid of U.S. authorities, much less of American prisons, which, says Ogorodnikov, are "like kindergarten" compared to the Soviet variety. In 1987, Soviet Jewish emigration figures reached a seven-year high of over six hundred a month.

☐ Congress doesn't support the Contras, but other Americans still can. Two groups raising money for the Nicaraguan Resistance are: The Nicaraguan Resistance Fund, 2623 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008 and The U.S. Council for World Freedom, 2621 East Camelback, Room 145, Phoenix, Ariz. 85016.

☐ Arrests and riots surrounding the recent Senegalese elections prompted the *New York Times* to run a piece headlined "More Than Ever, Africa Prefers One-Party Rule," accompanied by a map showing exactly four countries on the continent (cleverly excluding South Africa) that allow more than one party. One of the four is Senegal, where opposition leader Abdoulaye Wade was arrested after his defeat. The only free state on the African mainland in Freedom House's Map of Freedom is Botswana, and it's pretty clear that South Africa, for all her sins, is far more pluralistic and libertarian than the dreary petty tyrannies dominating the rest of the continent. Africa was essentially barbaric before imperialism, and still is—only now the chiefs have twentieth-century weapons. The best that can be hoped is that some areas will soon make the great leap forward into feudalism.

☐ What's in a name? Don't say that to the residents of Clarks Hill, S.C. In honor of the state's senior senator, Congress has decreed that Clarks Hill Lake will henceforth be Strom Thurmond Lake. Residents oppose the name-change of the seventy-thousand-acre lake for a variety of reasons, including the fact that no one consulted them about it. The thing could catch on, however. Do you suppose some sentiment could be drummed up for changing the name of Poucha Pond to Edward Kennedy Pond? Or the Tidal Basin Pool to Wilbur Mills Pool?

☐ A heavy-metal band known as Immaculate Mary says its practice of tossing condoms to fans is not meant to offend Roman Catholics. This does not change our opinion of rock bands.

☐ The director of a shelter for the homeless was arrested when identified as a most-wanted escaped felon sentenced to six life terms for arson, pedophilic rape, and five murders. This does not change our opinion of social workers.

☐ Rising fast in the political firmament of Zimbabwe is a politician named Simbarashe Simenduku Mumbengegwi. His name doesn't fit on a ballot, but, then, he doesn't have to get elected.

The Long Good-Bye

TWO MONTHS AGO, Fred Mann defined the strange shape of this year's primary and caucus season ("And They're Off!" *NR*, February 5): a diffuse beginning in Iowa and New Hampshire, a one-day middle on Super Tuesday, then a long end-game all the way to the conventions. Here is what the end-game looks like.

The front-runner status of Michael Dukakis suggests a problem with the dynamics of Democratic primaries. Dukakis plucked the plums of Super Tuesday, Texas and Florida, by taking Hispanic South Texas and Jewish Miami. But this won't translate into electoral votes in November. Jackson's strength underscores the party's leftward tilt. Albert Gore will very likely prove to be a favorite son. Richard Gephardt and the prospect of a second Korean War fade together.

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Here Comes the Broker

There's the fly that's in the ointment
And the fly on Auntie's nose,
Plus the fly stuck in the soup bowl
That's begun to decompose,
But the fly that has them swatting
Like St. Vitus is the one
That kept buzzing Super Tuesday
As they yelled, "Run, Jesse, run!"

W. H. VON DREELE

On the Republican side, there will be flickers of a Stop Bush movement whose beneficiary would be Dole. This movement will be an odd one, consisting of liberal reporters (who have never liked Bush), disgruntled Midwesterners (who feel let down by Reaganism), movement conservatives (same reason as liberal reporters), and the Christian Soldiers. The heterogeneity of the forces arrayed against Bush probably guarantees their defeat. So does the primary schedule. The next three big events after Super Tuesday are Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania. Bush is supported by Illinois Governor James Thompson; he has New York wired; and Pennsylvania was one of the few states he carried against Reagan in 1980.

Whom should conservatives prefer? The case for Dole was put most succinctly by Paul Weyrich: "We don't have many people of his ability on our side—when he's on our side." This is also the case against him. Dole is a tough partisan and, when his heart is in it, an effective one. He tends to put his partisanship at the service of the prevailing winds. In Washington, as he discovered during his years of "growth" under the Reagan Administration, those winds often blow from the left.

Bush is a more earnest fellow, and his record is earnestly mixed. These days, he is probably best on economics. The supply-siders feel they can now talk to James Baker, a Bush protégé and ally; and one of Bush's few new ideas has been a call to cut the capital-gains tax. On social issues, Bush would, like Reagan, offer little action without, unlike Reagan, even offering any rhetoric. Miles Copeland (see "Old Spooks for Bush," March 18) made the case for Bush's foreign-policy savvy. That savvy has not kept him from backing the INF treaty whole-heartedly, or from wanting to follow it with a new SALT pact. Iran-Contra—one of the media's main contributions to the Stop Bush drive—would dog him all the way to November.

Neither man would initiate ideas or carry the offensive to the Democratic Party. All the battles of the election and of a Bush or Dole Administration would be fought on liberal turf.

There remains the question of electability. Polls—the media's other Stop Bush contribution—have shown Dole running more strongly among Democrats than Bush. This is partly because Dole has not been on point. If he becomes the Republican nominee, all the qualities his liberal admirers now cite approvingly—bitter wit, flexibility—will become liabilities, and his polls will sink accordingly.

To win the election, whoever wins the nomination must make some gesture to the Religious Right—not so much to Pat Robertson, who continues to pile ineptitude on ineptitude, but to Robertson's followers. The evidence of the last two decades is clear: when the Republican Party captures white Evangelical voters, it wins; when, as in 1976, it doesn't, it loses. This constituency must feel that the next Republican Administration will address its moral concerns; a vice-presidential nomination—for Senator William Armstrong, say, or Interior Secretary Donald Hodel—would help.

What Happened to Kemp?

NATIONAL REVIEW did not formally endorse Jack Kemp, but it left no doubt that it much preferred him to the establishmentarian Bushdole. Kemp appeared to have many assets coming into the primaries. He has been running for President at least since 1980 (as a wit said, maybe too many people thought it was time for a change), he had a vice-presidential boomlet in 1980 in Detroit, and he has long been a favorite of movement conservatives. He has been forceful, correct, and courageous on a host of important issues: taxes, the Contras, SDI, INF, Bork. His overall strategy was plausible, aiming at building a firm conservative base. What went wrong is a matter of dispute among conservatives, but many of the theories are mutually reinforcing, *viz.*:

1. Kemp lacks *gravitas*, a mysterious but palpable quality; he is not what the French term *un homme sérieux*. A list of positions, even correct ones, does not a President make. Eisenhower had *gravitas*, and so did Nixon in his sullen way. Bush's breeding and decency root him in something real, despite the golly-geeism. Jimmy Carter lacked *gravitas*. For seven years Reagan had it through sheer authenticity, though today the Administration has come to seem irrelevant. All of this year's Democratic candidates lack *gravitas*, and it would take lead shoes to keep some of them from floating off into the empyrean.

2. It's hard to jump from the House to the White House. If Kemp had challenged Javits, he and not Alfonse D'Amato would be a senator. As it is, Kemp has virtually no New York political base.

3. Kemp was unable to polarize the race into liberal *versus* conservative. The party as a whole has moved to the right, and there are conservatives supporting

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Yankee Stay Home

CUTTING THE travel budget of the State Department might make our foreign policy more rational, as well as reducing the deficit.

Every so often, Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker travels to Angola to tell the Marxist government that, if it sends home the forty thousand Cuban soldiers defending it against the natives, South Africa will grant Namibia independence and (what did you expect?) we will subsidize everybody. Yet without the Cubans, the government would collapse and be replaced by Jonas Savimbi, who (without much help from us) has successfully fought the Marxists for a long time. Somehow it doesn't seem to dawn on the State Department that the Angolan Marxists will never send the Cubans home, however much Crocker negotiates and confers. He goes right on traveling (and, incidentally, disapproving of what help America does give Savimbi).

Arab youngsters on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip throw stones at Israeli soldiers, who respond by shooting and beating the youngsters. Not a nice situation. Whereupon Secretary of State Shultz arrives. Can Mr. Shultz accomplish anything beyond sightseeing? His immediate goal seems to be a comprehensive conference. In such a conference Israel would be isolated as a defendant, with the U.S. as counsel (and a counsel burdened with many conflicts of interest: the Egyptians too are our clients, and the Saudis and Jordanians). Reasonably enough, the Israelis are reluctant. Who wants to be in the dock "conferring" with one's enemies? (And wherein is the whole conference in the American interest?) Mr. Shultz apparently believes that the only thing better than traveling is having a conference. I don't think it will come off; or, if it does, that it could produce anything that would be in our interest, the Israeli interest, or the interest of peace. Look at the long-run situation.

Some Israeli settlers want to keep Gaza and the West Bank, now occupied by Israel. The Israeli government knows quite well—bargaining positions apart—that it is contrary to Israel's interest to keep these regions, which are overwhelmingly populated by Arabs. Ultimately, they would make Israel an Arab state, or a colonialist dictatorship, with the Arabs playing the role of South African blacks. Nor, obviously, is it either desirable or feasible to expel millions of Arabs from their homes, as Rabbi Kahane proposes. Yet the surrounding Arab states do not want to absorb the Palestinians or annex Gaza or the West Bank. To do either would imperil their existing structures and governments. More important, the Palestinians do not want to be absorbed or annexed. They want their own state. However, Israel feels, with much justification, that it would be suicidal to create another hostile and armed Arab state adjoining it.

Is there a solution? The problem can be managed, as, e.g., Northern Ireland is. But the idea that possesses the State Department—that a benevolent deity has provided a solution for every problem, which will somehow be revealed at a conference—is a fairy tale. (Sure, they believe in fairies at the State Department.) Egypt possibly would like a solution. But not enough to do anything that would make it unpopular with other Arab governments. Syria does not want a solution that would reduce its role in the Arab world—as any solution would. Nor do any of the other Arab states have much to gain from sponsoring a solution that would make the Palestinians independent, yet neutralize them—which is where it must come out. Surely the PLO would fight it.

IN THE LONG RUN—or, God willing, in the short run—the Syrian dictator Hafez Assad will die, and there may be a struggle for succession that may weaken Syria. God willing, Iran and Iraq will exhaust one another. They are on the way. These and other changes may make the necessary compromise possible: an independent yet demilitarized Palestinian state. This will take time and many changes that at present can barely be discerned. Meanwhile the Secretary might as well stay home. It would help the budget. And our foreign policy.

To be sure, the present stone-throwing and shooting are undesirable. Unfortunately, there are many such situations in the world. The Sikhs do more than throw stones at the Hindus, the Tamils at the Sinhalese, the Basques at the Castilians, the Kurds at the Turks, and so on. Patience. Nothing is achieved by pretending to do what cannot be done until circumstances change; by passing UN resolutions, holding conferences, or traveling around. Such charades should not be confused with foreign policy. They mislead public opinion and may interfere with possible foreign-policy initiatives when the time is right. It is hard to take seriously a foreign policy that wastes everyone's time. Let's cut the travel budget.

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both Bush and Dole. He was also hurt by the Robertson and du Pont candidacies.

4. Kemp talks *at* an audience. Before right-to-lifers he's apt to attack the Federal Reserve Board. Before South Carolina editors and reporters he dwelt on monetary policy, glazing many eyes.

5. Kemp's economic optimism went against the—mistaken—public mood of pessimism. Constant talk about the deficit worries many people.

6. There was something wrong about several of Kemp's positions. As a skeptic observed, Kemp never saw a federal program he'd like to cut. His defense of Social Security struck the knowledgeable as shallow and even deceptive. On immigration he seemed to favor open borders, nice for the lettuce and grape growers, but not otherwise attractive.

7. Kemp's cheery spiel, as Fred Barnes perceived, was out of sync with deep-running resentments over reverse discrimination, the intrusion of the Feds into schools and other private areas, and the palpable racial double standard in much of our present life.

8. Kemp didn't raise enough money or organize widely and thoroughly enough. The British music-hall tune of the 1890s went: "*We don't want to fight, / But by jingo if we do, / We've got the men, we've got the ships, / We've got the money too.*" Bush and Dukakis are the best financed and the best organized, and notice where they are after Super Tuesday.

Gentlemen's Agreement

THE MEDIA have had a good time embarrassing Pat Robertson lately—with lots of help from Robertson. He keeps saying interesting things (about Soviet missiles in Cuba, for instance), retracting them, and then blaming the press for noticing. One of the most maladroit moves since Gary Hart invited the press to follow him around was Robertson's charge that the Bush campaign had engineered the exposure of Jimmy Swaggart. It was nonsense, and even if it had been true it's not the sort of thing you can say without evidence.

Acknowledging that Robertson has given his enemies plenty of ammunition, the fact remains that the media are his enemies in a special way. *Newsweek* imputes "hate" and "resentment" to his campaign—without evidence—and his past utterances are endlessly thrown up at him to embarrass him in a way most other candidates are spared.

That Robertson prayed to stop Hurricane Gloria (and took credit when she spared the Virginia coast) is a datum calculated to embarrass Robertson in liberal eyes. It's not so embarrassing in the eyes of people who believe in the efficacy of prayer in such situations. But the media aren't addressing such people; if they were, they'd also report on another potentially embarrassing dimension of the 1988 presidential race.

The Democrats—Dukakis, Simon, Gore, and Jackson—have been competing discreetly, for the most part, but ardently for the homosexual vote. Dukakis ushered a gay-rights bill through the Massachusetts legislature last year. Simon is co-sponsoring a federal gay-rights act. Gore has pledged to sign an Executive order forbidding discrimination against homosexuals. Jackson has gone the others one better by joining gay demonstrations. The competition is such that homosexual organizations feel they can afford to be choosy: some complain that Dukakis has "waffled" on allowing homosexuals and lesbians to adopt children.

The gay press reports on these things in detail. The major media mention them rarely and glancingly, if at all. The liberal candidates can woo homosexual votes and money secure in the knowledge that cameras and interviewers won't be there to make them squirm before a national audience.

Shining City in a Sump

BOTH HOUSES of Congress have passed, by huge margins, an act intended to overturn the Supreme Court's decision in the *Grove City* case of 1984. The act is presented as a restoration of the civil-rights status quo ante. It is, in fact, a sweeping new departure. *Grove City* allowed "program-specific" federal intervention in the name of civil rights: if a college chemistry department that is getting federal funding engages in discrimination, it can be ordered to mend its ways; but the (unfunded) football team can't. In this, *Grove City* followed legislative history and previous Supreme Court decisions: in *North Haven* v. *Bell*, two years earlier, the Court had noted that the "legislative history" of Title IX (the sex-discrimination law) "corroborates its general program specificity."

The bill on its way to the White House changes all that. Under the new dispensation, if any federal dough finds its way, however circuitously, to anything construed as discriminatory, then the whole institution can be hauled into court. "Discrimination," in current parlance, goes far beyond racism: it includes sexism,

Modified Rapture

George Bush, who tied himself to Ron,
Won big and should keep coming on,
If not like gangbusters, then like
A very nice, denatured Ike
Who may, if Greenspan sits on rates,
Squeeze out the necessary states.
So pass the party hats and I'll
Attempt some tooting in the aisle.

W. H. VON DREELE

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Now for the Good News

THE UNEMPLOYMENT situation continues to amaze. Only a few years ago economists were saying that 7-per-cent unemployment was the point below which inflationary pressures would start to build. February's 5.7 per cent marked the twentieth consecutive month of sub-7-per-cent unemployment, and yet inflation forecasts are being revised steadily downward.

Not a small amount of credit for this happy confluence must go to the reductions in personal-income-tax rates, which have resulted in both an increased demand for labor and a lowering of unit labor costs.

The official unemployment numbers actually overstate the true dimensions of the problem. Only 3.2 million of the seven million people counted as unemployed last month actually lost their jobs. The rest either left work voluntarily (961,000), recently re-entered the labor force (1,951,000), or are looking for their first job (864,000).

Although the perception exists that job quality has deteriorated, with menial service jobs replacing high-paying manufacturing positions, the data show that 52 per cent of all jobs created between 1979 and 1985 paid 150 per cent or more of the median wage.

Youth and minority unemployment rates are still high in this country, but they are falling and—surprise!—we do a much better job of keeping our youth employed than do some countries in which you might not expect to find youth or minority problems. The OECD reports 1987 youth unemployment at 11.3 per cent in the U.S. versus 23 per cent in France, 17.8 per cent in the UK, 37 per cent in Italy, 14.5 per cent in Australia, and 14 per cent in Canada.

Germany and Japan had lower youth unemployment rates, respectively 8.4 per cent and 5.8 per cent, but the trend since 1980 has been sharply upward in those nations, while here, Reaganomics and all, the rate is more than two points lower now than it was in 1980.

We also do a much better job at keeping the duration of unemployment under control. The long-term unemployed (defined as those out of work for more than 12 months) typically constitute 30 to 50 per cent of the total unemployed in the major European countries, and more than 70 per cent in Belgium, while the proportion in the U.S. is about 8 per cent.

In the not-too-distant future our primary labor-market problem will be a shortage not of jobs but of workers—this bringing its own set of problems, including an increased risk of high inflation and higher tax burdens on workers. —ED RUBENSTEIN

ageism, and discrimination against the handicapped (recent court rulings include AIDS victims in that category). Senator John Danforth (R., Mo.) tacked on an amendment allowing hospitals to refuse to perform abortions. The specificity of the exemption indicates the sweep of the powers unleashed.

Not that the status quo (the real one) was perfect. *Grove City* marked a broadening of federal power; the Court held that Grove City College, the defendant in the original suit, fell under federal jurisdiction even though it took no federal funds, because a few of its students had student loans. What *Grove City* began, the present bill completes.

Republican wimps have urged President Reagan to sign the bill, on the grounds that it is veto-proof, and that a veto will seem "anti-civil rights" in an election year. Reagan wants to veto anyway. He should stick to his guns. The only people such laws help are bureaucrats and the lawyers whom they employ. They have nothing to do with civil rights. People will get the point only if politicians dare to make it.

Not Surprising

"SHOCK AND DISTRESS" IN THE WEST, was the *New York Times* headline on South Africa's crackdown on 17 non-violent anti-apartheid organizations. "It is a major disappointment for anyone who has had hope for even small steps forward in South Africa," said Senator Nancy Kassebaum, ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on African Affairs. "What the South African government is doing is an open invitation to greater violence and bloodshed," said Representative Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa. Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker called in South African Ambassador Piet Koornhof to "register our shock and distress at these *inexplicable* actions by his government," reported UPI.

Senator Kassebaum and Representative Wolpe had their points. Secretary Crocker got it wrong. The actions by the government of P. W. Botha were distressing—any diminution of freedom is distressing—but they were far from "inexplicable."

Over the past decade President Botha's National Party has moved cautiously—too cautiously for many, including most South African blacks—to dismantle the harshest, most humiliating elements of apartheid: Jim Crowism, job discrimination, pass laws. They made these changes at considerable political peril from Afrikaner intransigents opposed to all change. Botha skirted quicksand every step of the way, trying not to move so fast as to lose his political constituency at home, while still ameliorating the condition of South Africa's 23 million blacks. It was a political cliff-hanger that earned Botha and his government not the qualified, cautious applause they might have expected

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Canal (kə-năl'), *n., 1: an artificial waterway for navigation, etc.*

from the international community eager "for even small steps forward in South Africa," but opprobrium, vituperation, and sanctions abroad, and riots in the townships and streets at home.

With the white community in South Africa split and the black community up in arms, the Botha government moved to restore order. It declared a state of emergency, arrested agitators (both black and white), banned TV coverage of riots, abridged press rights, and a fortnight ago, faced with two important by-elections (which the pro-apartheid Conservatives won), banned political activity by anti-apartheid groups. The ban on peaceful political activity was shocking and distressing, but what could the world reasonably expect? It has demonstrated that nothing will satisfy it short of political suicide by South Africa's leaders.

The Last Emperors

YOU'VE NEVER heard of Nagorno-Karabakh? Well, the Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the southwestern Soviet Union have, and they've been rioting over it. These riots follow hard on the heels of nationalist demonstrations in the Estonian capital, Tallinn, which follow several years of turbulent activity in Latvia and Lithuania, and serious riots a while back in Soviet Central Asia. Meanwhile, there is rioting in Tibet.

The Communist Raj has been trying to assert itself in various ways. In Tibet, after years of sticks, the Chinese have tried (unsuccessfully) a few economic carrots. Soviet policy in the Baltic states has been simply to move Russians in, in order to dilute the local culture. Brezhnev pacified Central Asia with largesse from Moscow, which ended up lining local pockets. When Gorbachev moved against corruption, the natives got restless.

The Economist of London noted recently that the Soviets and the Chinese preside over the last great empires on earth. We often fail to notice it, because their dominions—unlike India or the Ivory Coast—do not lie overseas, but next door to the imperial centers. They've noticed it, though. And they'll be thinking hard, and vexedly, about it for decades to come.

Whale Pearl Harbor

FOR WEEKS the parties to the great whale confrontation were wheeling slowly into place, even as the Japanese fleet was steaming toward the Antarctic with the intention of slaughtering three hundred minke whales. The dispute has now come to a point, with Commerce Secretary William Verity's declaration that the Japanese plans do indeed violate the international whaling moratorium, followed up by a vote to that effect by the International Whaling Commission.

Verity, best known for his desire to permit high-tech sales to the Soviets, is correct on this issue. The Japanese claim that the proposed slaughter would be for "research purposes," permitted under the moratorium; but, as it happens, the meat from the whales will be sold commercially "to support the research," and the scientific rationale for the research (to find the minke birth or replacement rate) is pretty thin.

Of course, Verity's action doesn't mean much by itself. Japan's U.S.-waters fishing quota for 1988 will be officially cut in half, but it was already at zero, and the Japanese were already violating it. If the "crisis" isn't resolved, the quota may be permanently eliminated, and U.S. markets might be closed to Japanese fish products—but we'd lose that trade war, as fishing is one of the few industries in which we have a trade surplus with Japan.

For all the sound and fury, there actually are some moral issues here. First, the Japanese ought to stand by their agreement. Second, the "save the whales" crowd is not ga-ga. Hard-headed scientists have long suspected fairly high intelligence in certain breeds of whale and dolphin, possibly enough to make whale

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hunting a different sort of ethical issue from mere concern for endangered species.

Though they were willing to interpret the treaty loosely so long as no one was watching, the Japanese are clearly less enthusiastic about losing face. Japanese Fisheries Minister Sato claims, "If Japan's action to pursue research whaling becomes a big issue and if criticism becomes accelerated, we will reconsider our decision at that stage." Moral force works occasionally—at least with our allies. President Reagan, under the whaling agreement, must now tell Congress what he plans to do, and, if nothing, why.

Blackmail

FOUR MEMBERS of the staff of the *Dartmouth Review* face charges of disorderly conduct, with the likelihood that they will be expelled if convicted. The charges stem from the *Review*'s longstanding feud with a music professor named William Cole, of radical views and unstable temper. It has criticized and ridiculed his conduct of his classes. In return, Cole has exploded with obscenities, insults, and menacing and violent behavior.

The latest episode began when the *Review* transcribed a Cole lecture—an unstructured rap on race, mostly (he's black), in which he used an obscenity (with a prefatory apology) and at one point addressed white members of the class as "honkies."

Review staffers followed this up by phoning Cole at home. He hung up on them. They phoned again. He cussed them out in gutter language. They accosted him after class. He blew up, screamed obscenities, and broke a photographer's flash device.

The *Review* staffers say they brought the camera and a tape recorder because Cole has a record of "violence, slander, and lying." True enough, but it seems reasonable to infer that they hoped he'd react as he did and meant to provoke him.

At any rate, the campus also blew up. A couple of hundred black students held a series of rallies, accusing the *Review* of racism—a charge Cole has made all along, though the only racial epithets used were his own. Dartmouth's president, James Freedman, addressed one of the rallies, further inflaming the case, and publicly criticized the *Review* staffers, thereby prejudging their hearing.

The case can stand or fall on its own merits. Cole's side is self-serving in defining it as a racial incident, which it was not. Some anti-*Review* posters falsely quoted the executive editor, John Sutter, as saying, "We've got to get rid of all you incompetent niggers."

That's a time-tested way of widening personal conflicts and turning them into racial-ideological battles. Cole has enlisted a mob on his side, and the college has abetted his strategy.

Meanwhile, in Wappingers Falls, New York, a girl named Tawana Brawley, who is black, has created a similar uproar with a fishy story about having been kidnapped, raped, and held for four days by six white men. No evidence has emerged to support her claims, but a pair of radical black lawyers and a black demagogue preacher have parlayed the affair into a bitter controversy, urging the girl not to cooperate with law-enforcement authorities unless Governor Cuomo appoints a special prosecutor. The authorities, cowed by charges of racism against themselves, are afraid to dismiss the case, to require Miss Brawley's testimony before a grand jury, or to prosecute her mischievous mentors for obstructing justice. And so the quest for equality continues.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

The PR Laureate of the Gulag comes and quotes an American poet. As the Italian author Calvino once said, "Nobody these days holds the written word in such high esteem as police states do."

Raisa arrives fashionably attired as the debutante of détente in a coat sewn from the skins of dead Afghani children. No clubbed baby seals or contributions from conspicuous consumers are used by Raisa. She is a woman of the Eighties. She has a college degree, but no degree of responsibility. Gorbachev, Mikhail to his friends, discusses everything with her, "My dear Raisa, what should we edit out of this Brokaw interview?"

Ron gives Team Genocide a 21-gun salute. However, in a sad comment on our military capability, Mikhail makes it to the plane unscathed.

The President then calls for better relations. He uses a story about a woman who is shot while trying to save her children from Greek Communists. She, like the people of Afghanistan, had no Pershing missiles, so they receive the lead version of *perestroika.*

The President announces that Soviet intentions have changed. Conservatives need no announcement; Reagan has changed.

Sincerely,
Steve Adamek
San Diego, Calif.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am aghast that *Sealestial*'s navigator has Blackford Oakes committing another navigational solecism (recall Blackford's speed-of-sound error in *Marco Polo—If You Can*: my letter of February 1, 1982, your reply of February 17, 1982).

I here refer to Blackford's solution to the question, "But what distance can you assign to 18 degrees of westward longitude at Latitude 20 North?" On page 79 of *Mongoose R.I.P.* you give the distance as 972

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miles. The correct distance is 1,175 statute miles; a difference of 203 statute miles, or an error of 17 per cent.

Looking at any globe, it will be seen that any two meridians are at a maximum distance apart at the Equator, that is, at latitude 0 degrees; whereas they are at zero distance apart at the Poles, namely at latitude 90 degrees. This you recognized. However, it can be shown mathematically that this change of their distance apart with the angular value of latitude exactly corresponds with the trigonometrical function of any angle known as its cosine. In other words, it can be said that the spacing apart of meridians *on the Earth* varies as the cosine of the latitude. So, our formula is:

Arc distance between meridians =
Arc distance at Equator × cosine of latitude

The error Blackford made, as his mind began to throb, was in considering the triangle formed by the 100th meridian, the 82nd meridian, and the equatorial arc as a *plane* triangle. The triangle formed by the 20-degree latitude he also considered as plane. Thus he believed he had two similar plane triangles whose corresponding parts are proportional. What was not recognized is that the triangles in question are *spherical* triangles.

I am enjoying the book. Good story.

Sincerely,
William Adams
Lt. Col. USAF (Ret.)
Las Vegas, Nev.

Dear Colonel Adams: As I remember, I was dealing in nautical miles, so that the error diminishes by 145 miles. But, of course, Blackford should have known better. I shall find a means of reprimanding him. Yours cordially, WFB

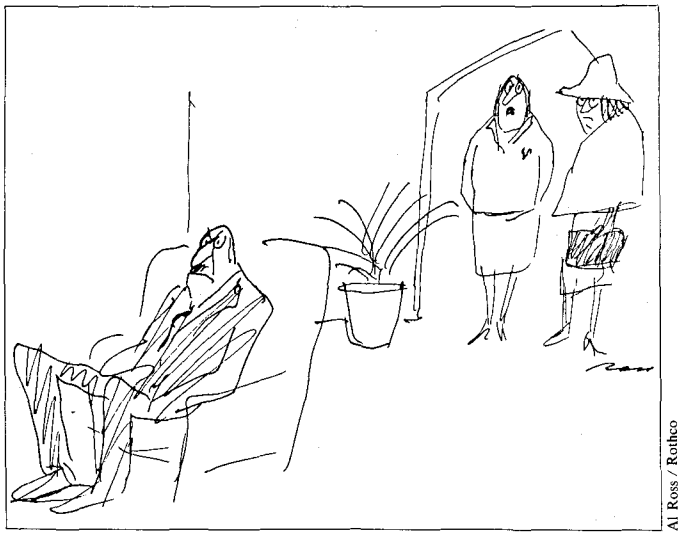
☐ Memo to: Bill Buckley
From: Bill Rusher

Our subscribers may have noticed that they are getting their copies of NATIONAL REVIEW later than usual these days—ordinarily about a day later. As the Marxists would say, this is no accident. The U.S. Postal Service has decided to respond to President Reagan's call for economies in the executive branch by cutting services. Specifically, the Postal Service doesn't work on Sundays any more. The result has been an across-the-board slowdown in mail service—especially, no doubt, in mail categories other than first-class.

There is nothing we can do about this, but I thought you—and our readers—ought to know that, this time at least, the problem isn't our fault.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

For several years, I have been annoyed at the apparent lack, in what I am told is the world's richest language, of a *single* word meaning "falsely accusing another of one's own sins."



Al Ross / Rotheo

"I'm worried about him. He actually believes Russia is a country made up by Ronald Reagan."

To resort to the colloquialism, "The pot calling the kettle black," is both wordy and an invitation to charges of racism. To speak of "projection," in the Freudian sense, is to sound too clinical, as well as to misinterpret Freud's meaning. To speak of "casting the mote from one's own eye before casting the beam from one's brother's eye," is both wordy and sanctimonious.

Since folk wisdom, Freud, and Jesus don't exactly address the question, let us turn to a more sinister source: Senator Edward Kennedy. Can the man who abandoned Mary Jo Kopechne to her fate be the one who posed as a defender of American Womanhood against Robert Bork? Can the Kennedy who portrayed Judge Bork as an enemy of the free press be the same Kennedy who now tries to silence opposition by forcing a critic to sell either a newspaper or a television station?

Indeed it can, and it is. Such a champion of hypocrisy deserves to be immortalized in the English language, much as an earlier senator was immortalized, whose achievements in the realm of deceit were vastly inferior to those of my nominee.

I therefore propose that *falsely to accuse others of one's own sins* henceforth be known as *Teddyism*, and that he who so accuses another be known as a *Teddyite*.

Yours truly,
David Skidmore
Springfield, Mo.

Dear Mr. Skidmore: We've never launched a new word, so we don't know how to get it done. But good luck. There is certainly a felt need for such a word and you have the spirit of a supply-sider. Cordially, **—WFB**

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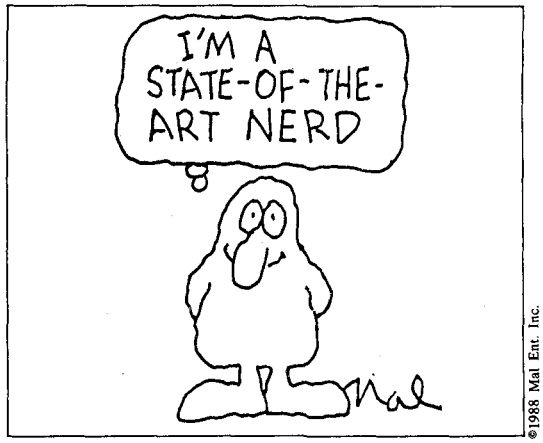
hello !!!!



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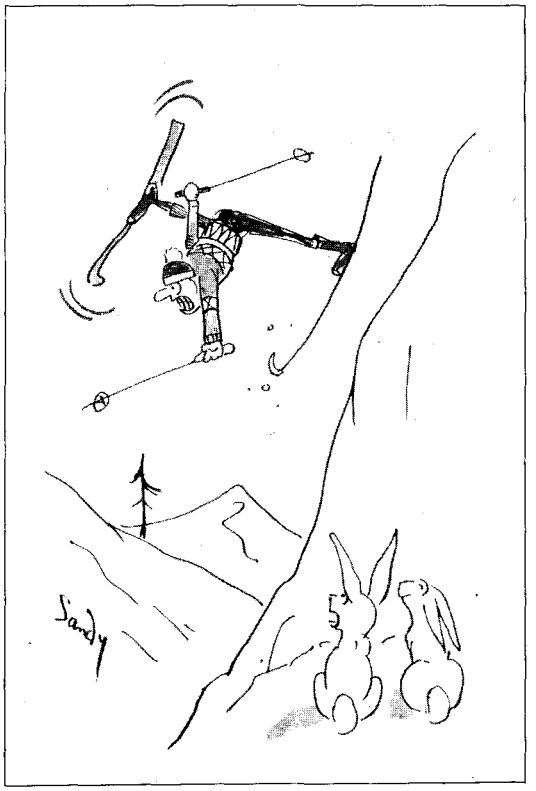
The Rumanian Way

There's no steam heat in winter,
  Or air-conditioned Junes,
And all along the Danube
  The peasants pout like prunes,
But foreign debt's been falling
  Like snowmen in July,
A trend the Oval Office
  Will ultimately eye.

W. H. von Dreele



"Beats me. Every winter they come out and fall off the mountain."

"Twenty thousand years in Purgatory? But I only voted for Nixon once*!"*

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THE POISONED CONGRESS

THE RECENT arrest of Senator Bob Packwood (R., Ore.) within the hallowed halls of Congress's Upper Chamber signals an escalation from virulent partisan feuding into open war. It happened on February 24 in the early hours of the morning. Frustrated by Republican-led filibustering against a measure calling for campaign finance reform, Majority Leader Robert Byrd seized upon obscure Senate rules allowing the Sergeant-at-Arms to compel absent senators to come to the Senate floor. Byrd's motion to nab the Republicans passed 45 to 3, and the Senate police quickly fanned out, armed with warrants for the arrest of all 46 Republican senators. Several empty offices were checked before the first senator—Steve Symms of Idaho —was spotted. But the fleet-footed Symms eluded his would-be captors. Packwood was not so lucky. Because a cleaning woman ratted on him, the Sergeant-at-Arms and two aides caught the hapless Packwood hiding in his office. They forced the door, wrestled him under control, and brought him to the Senate floor. Despite the good-natured joshing over Packwood's arrest —he and the Sergeant-at-Arms held a news conference the following day and largely tried to laugh off the incident —it reflects an increasingly bitter mood on the Hill.

One reason, of course, is perennial (actually quadrennial). Ever since Harry Truman was elected by running against the "do-nothing 80th Congress," political strategists have tried to stage election-year confrontations within Congress between the party controlling the White House and its opposite number. And why not? Congress is highly visible, and while both presidential tickets slug it out on the stump, too often the result there resembles a food fight: lots of slapstick, and no winners.

Legislation, on the other hand, is the tangible expression of political power. It serves to focus differences between the parties. It defines winners and losers among both constituencies and legislators. In other words, it gives point to political drama.

There are, of course, deeper reasons for the poisoned congressional atmosphere than the mere fact of a presidential campaign. Democrats and Republicans in Congress are confronted with an ineluctable reality: they must share power. Since the change in control of the Senate in November 1986, this sharing has been especially tense. It began with Senate Republicans, under the leadership of the acerbic Bob Dole, refusing to cede office space to incoming Democrats until the last possible moment at the end of the session. Senator Byrd retaliated by cutting, as deeply as his powers permitted, Republican staff, office space, and perks. The Iran-Contra hearings before committees of both Houses of Congress accelerated the deterioration, as jubilant Democrats tried to go for the jugular. Senator Warren Rudman (R., N.H.), a leading Dole backer, attempted to bridge the partisan gap by joining with Senator Daniel Inouye (D., Hawaii) in the public castigation of the Reagan Administration. But the effort backfired. His fellow Republican committee members would have none of it.

The toxic atmosphere has also permeated the House. Majority Leader Tom Foley has started refusing to inform Republican Whip Trent Lott of upcoming votes until as little as 24 hours beforehand. This has two unsettling effects: not only are House GOP insurgents barred from forming effective counter-strategies through lack of notice, but it also makes the scheduling of out-of-office engagements and travel practically impossible for fear of missing key votes.

And the partisan warfare will not be kept within the halls of Congress itself. Watch for the Democrats to put on Mr. Reagan's desk a flock of bills as veto bait: minimum-wage increases, health-insurance reforms (such as the Kennedy proposal to make health-insurance coverage mandatory for employees of small businesses), child-care grants, mandatory leave for new parents.

This array of choices is not coincidental. At a recent Democratic conference at the Greenbrier resort in West Virginia, some 130 Democratic Members of Congress attended three days of meetings on the theme, "Our Family, Our Future." Democrats are aiming to use family issues in 1988, and Congress will be the staging ground for symbolic confrontations in the competition to seize the family banner on the campaign trail.

SENATOR ORRIN HATCH (R., Utah) has decried the partisan deterioration of the Congress and Packwood's arrest in particular, saying it makes the U.S. "look like a banana republic." One could argue that Hatch is exaggerating. After all, Congress has a long and glorious tradition of bare-knuckle politics. We are still a long way from the dog-fights that occurred in the Congress before the Civil War. Congressmen then expressed frustration by caning their foes. Viewed in this perspective, Packwood's arrest can be viewed as just another example of the extent to which members use power to prevail. When partisanship is missing on Capitol Hill, the logic goes, it means that the differences between the political parties are so narrow as to no longer matter.

Well, maybe. But many observers (including this one) think that in this particular congressional cycle, healthy partisanship has degenerated to an unhealthy meanness. Maybe that's one reason why so many senators are retiring. Partisanship is one thing, poison another. □

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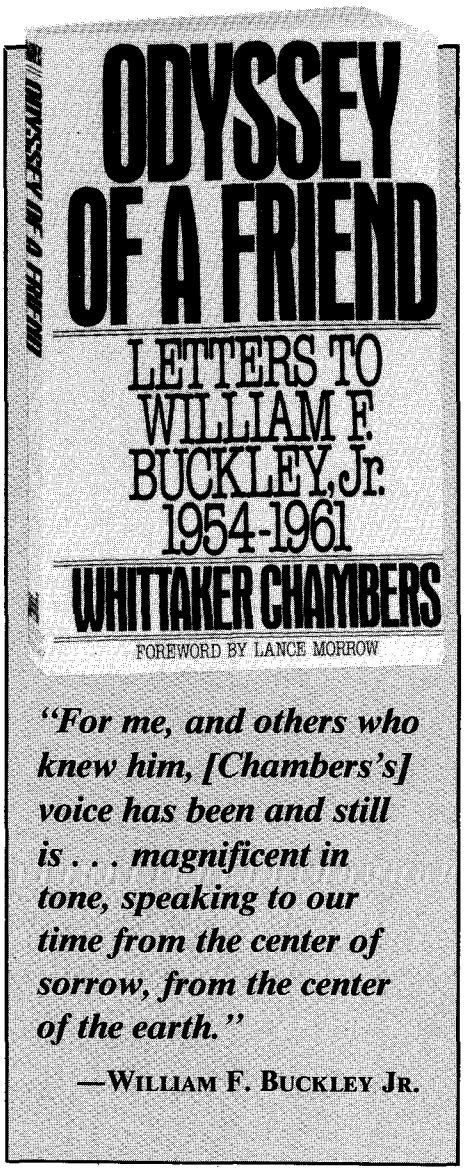
ODYSSEY OF A FRIEND
LETTERS TO WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, Jr. 1954-1961
WHITTAKER CHAMBERS
FOREWORD BY LANCE MORROW
"For me, and others who knew him, [Chambers's] voice has been and still is . . . magnificent in tone, speaking to our time from the center of sorrow, from the center of the earth."
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BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND . . .

Mikhail resumes his interrupted Kremlin soliloquy, after Raisa's intrusion. (See NR, *Feb. 5.)*

NOW, WHERE WAS I? Yeah, well, I'd been saying all the good things, how we were doing all right, getting our own way in most places, leading old Ron and even the Iron Lady just where we wanted them to go. And actually, the climax—my idea of bulldozing the Berlin Wall and using a reunited Germany to do our *perestroika* for us—that climax is still valid, and we'll work on it.

But I mustn't lose sight of the realities. After all, how could I have gotten to the top as I did—the poor boy from the tractor station—if I hadn't been a realist? And with a law degree along the way (and if those nice innocents over there want to compare our Moscow State University's Law Faculty with Harvard's Law School, I'm not going to stop them). No, I've done all right, and done it pretty fast. But I want it to stay that way. I'm aiming for a state funeral like Brezhnev, not managing a power station in Kazakhstan like poor old Malenkov, or being overthrown when my back is turned like Khrushchev.

So, what does realism tell me?

I tried to spell it out in my book, *Perestroika.* (To digress: fancy a General Secretary writing a best-seller for a capitalist readership! Nobody ever did that before. Nikita Sergeyevich wrote his *after* the boys had gotten rid of him—with a bit of help here and there.) And I did spell it out. Pages of it, about economic stagnation, about "negative trends." I said it: shortages of food, "glaring shortcomings" in our health services, poor housing. Alcoholism, drug addiction, crime. Bullying, corruption. Saying that was *glasnost* with a vengeance, and it worked. Abroad, I mean. Already I was really popular in the United States, Britain, West Germany.

My problem was that stating a problem isn't the same as solving it. I really had a dilemma there. Lenin—my god—had promised abundance for all, a new epoch in the history of humanity. All that stuff. But I'll say it now, since nobody's listening (I must learn to whisper more quietly): The Revolution has failed. And I *can't say so,* at least not in public. That was a real problem, especially last November when we were celebrating seventy years of Soviet socialism. I'd have liked to go much further—about Stalin's crimes, and all that—but boy, did those comrades of mine lean on me!

And so we had to dream up nice little euphemisms, like "not without excesses."

No. Here, alone, not even Raisa to listen to my silent thoughts, I have to admit it: Lenin has let us down. There's no solving that one. Aloud, I have to keep on saying we've let *Lenin* down. And I know that if I don't go on saying that, like every second sentence, I'll be out. And no state funeral. Let's face it (or rather, let's *not* face it), the system just doesn't work. Period. That's where the united-Germany plan comes in.

The Expensive Empire

BUT THERE'S worse. The President called us "the Evil Empire." True, he had to backpedal a bit on this, with the Summit on its way. Well, I'm not going to start talking about good and evil. What's good is what serves the Revolution. What's evil is what doesn't. That's the simplest set of rules I know, and I'm sticking to them.

But, evil or good, this little Socialist Commonwealth of ours (no, I just can't bring myself to call it an empire, so Brezhnev's label will have to do) is really costing over the odds. Ten million bucks (I'll have to watch that American influence), ten million bucks a day for Cuba alone. The same or slightly less—it hardly matters—for the little yellow brothers in Vietnam. The Sandinistas have been draining us, too. As for the war in Afghanistan, that's just become a nightmare. I wish we'd never started it. Nothing but trouble. We don't win, and we lose friends or supporters all over.

Then there's Africa. Okay, so we don't lose in Angola, but we don't win either. Mozambique—all right so long as the Brits and the Yanks pay the bills and fight their friends. But how long will that go on? Meanwhile, that great campaign we launched (when was it? September 1981, I think, in East Berlin) has been one of the best ever. In the Vietnam class, or very nearly. Yet there they are, those Boers, still in place, and not exactly laughing up their sleeves, but doing all right. And I get a feeling that the campaign is, well, limping. The ANC: we backed it, we took it over. That was the right decision. But what worked in Vietnam where we were fighting to drive the imperialists out—first the French, then the Yanks—well, that was one thing, but where do we think the Boers are going? Perhaps they were Dutch once, or French Huguenots or whatever, even English colonialists, but nobody's going to drive them out now, and we know it.

For years now, as the West knows, we've been meeting with South Africans on the quiet, in Zurich, in Moscow even, and talking about gold and diamonds. Now I think I'll put out some feelers in various Black African places. Lusaka, perhaps, or Harare. Perhaps we can do a bit of normalizing, on the quiet at first, to get people used to it.

As for Fidel. Well, frankly, he's been one great big pain in the ass all along. Back in the days of that attack on the Moncada barracks: who the hell did he think he was—Don Qui-

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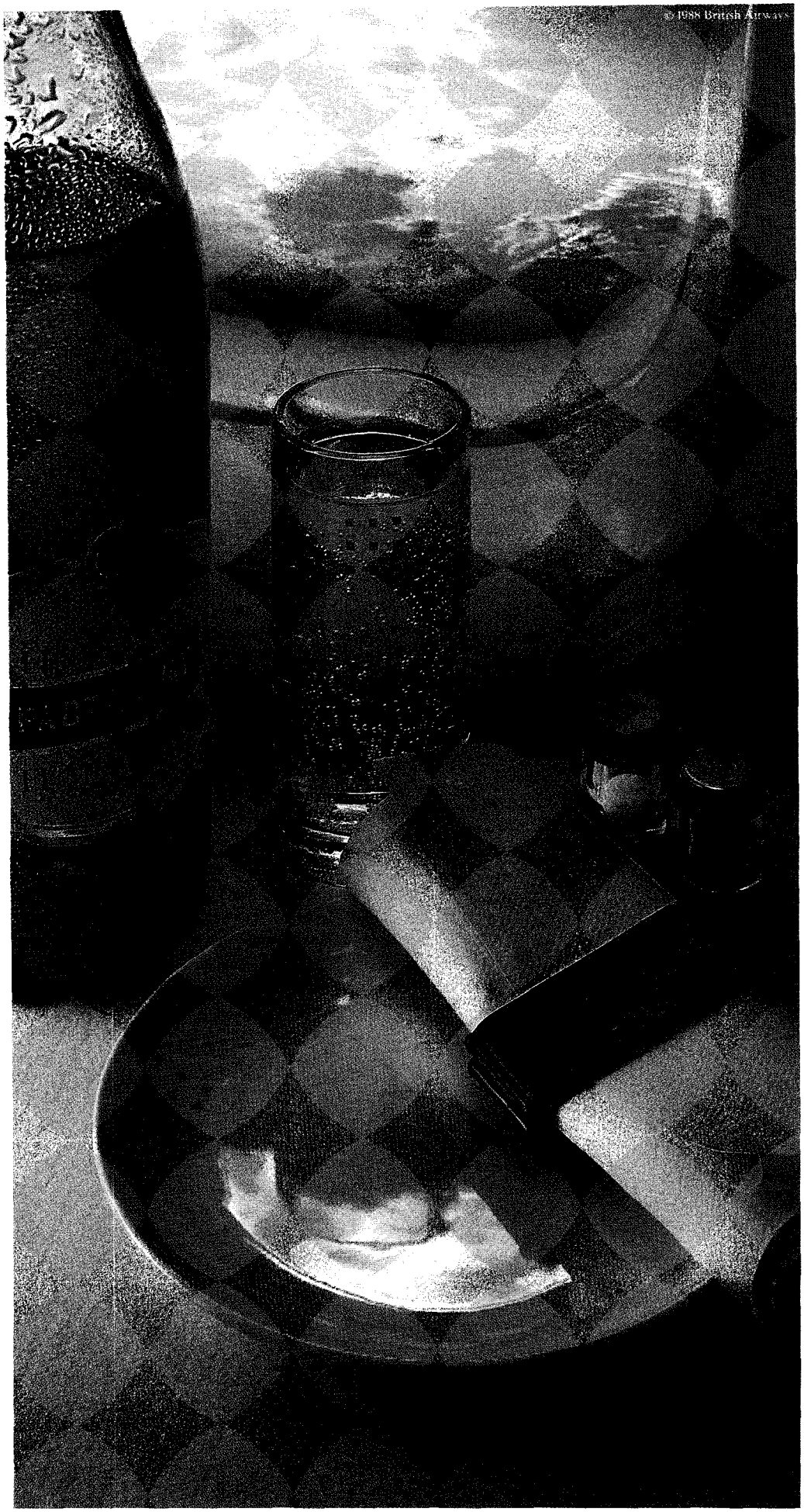

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xote? Then after that, pretending he wasn't a Communist. Well, that was all right, I suppose. Textbook stuff. But then he gets carried away by his own role, thinks he's Lenin or something, and sends that poor sap out to start revolutions. His little hero, Che Guevara. And look what happened to him in Bolivia. Twenty followers and they couldn't even speak the lingo. Well, he got what was coming to him.

And that wasn't all. There was the *barbudo* (is that what they call him? Can't claim to be much of a linguist) strutting the world, telling us to go get f----d. So what did we do? We sent our fleet in to blockade the island. That worked all right, but old Fidel is still too big for his proletarian boots. Anyway, I think we'll start telling him, Look, wise guy, you're on your own. We just can't afford ten million a day. . . .

Thanks, Leonid

So where does that bring me? Back to Afghanistan, that's where. Can we do a Laos there? The old man, Lenin's buddy Armand, has been helpful, as always. He went to see King Zahir in Rome, and said: "How about going home? You'll be welcome, believe me. You can have a government. A coalition. You'll be back on your throne, and the Sovs will pull out." Zahir said he'd think about it. He'd better think fast, is all I can say.

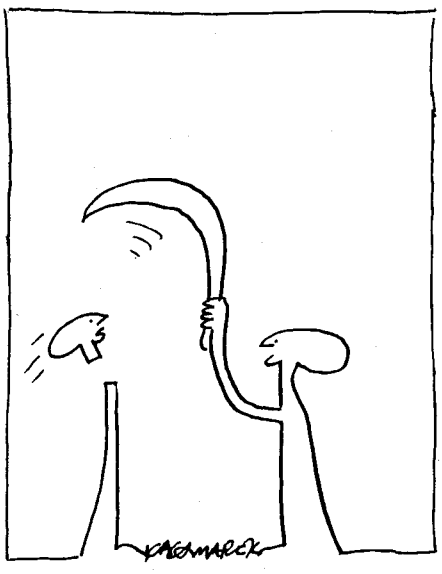
So can we get plaudits from all over for getting out, so that everybody will hail me as a "man of peace" (in line for a Nobel, I dare say, as if that mattered), *and* keep a hold on that god-forsaken place, all mountains, no minerals, no food? That's the question. And *that* brings me back to Lenin, and to my law studies.

One good thing Stalin accomplished was our 1936 Constitution, which took in a whole generation of useful idiots (they call them "fellow travelers" in the West), because on paper it was pure bourgeois stuff. When Brezhnev had another go in the Seventies, I wasn't all that keen, because he wanted to spell out just what we do stand for. A sign of the old bastard's overconfidence, really. I had reservations then, and now I'm really saddled with the mess he left.

It's Article 28 that bugs me, and also Article 30, for that matter. After all, 28 commits us to supporting national liberation everywhere, and 30 means we have to help every tin-pot socialist state everywhere. Each tin pot may be cheap, but put them all together and it's a different story. I mean, that 1977 Constitution is our *fundamental law*, for Lenin's sake! So if we pull out of Afghanistan, if we drop Nicaragua (let alone Cuba), if we stop propping up Angola, we're in breach of our own Constitution! Can't imagine what our friendly congressmen would say to that. And ditto with the Czechs and the Hungarians, the Poles and the Bulgarians. As for that Stalinist nut, Ceausescu, are we supposed to pay his bills too? Or get hauled before the International Court of Justice?

I mean, joking apart, do I go down in history as the man who reneged on Lenin? Alternatively, can I justify ditching all the little brothers, and do it in the *name* of Lenin?

Ligachev would have a ball, wouldn't he? At least, that's what the bourgeois media would assume, but they'd be wrong, because they don't know what I know: that I've moved faster than *any* of my predecessors, and done a real *perestroika* with the Party bureaucrats. The Brezhnevites are out—at least two-thirds of them are. My own people are *in*. No trouble with Ligachev later, if things don't work out. And I do want that state funeral. No, all told, I could get away with anything, at this stage. There was this small local difficulty over Yeltsin, so I did have to turn nasty and Stalinist, and sack him for doing things my way. That was the price, and it's been paid.



"You may call it history; I call it murder."

Now we're set for a long run in power, subject to . . . Well, that's what I'm talking to myself about, isn't it?

I'll give myself another shot of realism. It's the ultimate tranquilizer, in a way. No point in being euphoric. Best to be cold sober. What I called "near stagnation" in my book was all right for Western readers, but I know, and my Politburo comrades know, that even that was a tiny piece of disinformation. What *we* know is that our economy has actually been *declining* for several years. And what that means is that I don't think we can *afford* the Socialist Commonwealth any more. In fact, I'm not sure we can afford *socialism* any more.

Out there in the "corrupt" and "decadent" main citadel of capitalism, they've moved fast into the technological revolution, as they have in Japan. And that's just where we are lagging behind most of all. The knowledge society is here, and I don't mean *here*, I mean *there*. How the hell can we become a knowledge society and also keep the flow of information under the Party's control?

'Star Wars' Roadblock

The trouble is, defense now costs less than offense. On the eve of the Washington Summit, I had to reveal to that American television man—Brokov, Brokau, something like that—that we too were working on what we call "Star Wars" when it happens in America. They knew it, of course, but that was *glasnost* at its best: from bad guy to good guy in one easy movement. But I know that in this kind of race, the Americans will win—if we let them run the race.

So we put obstacles everywhere. We talk to Paul Nitze, to U.S. scientists, we get them on our side, we invoke the ABM treaty. That's the kind of thing we *are* good at. I think we'll win on that one—paralyze the main enemy for years, which means forever.

I'm not so happy about the NATO Summit, I must say. The Iron Lady: I thought I had the Iron Lady softened up, but that's over now. Our best hope is in Germany, with Kohl as nervous as a big fat kitten, Genscher really helpful to us, as always, and old Strauss just playing to the gallery nowadays.

Does all that solve my problems? Who am I kidding? □

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GENERAL DYNAMICS

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DOES THE UNIVERSITY HAVE A FUTURE?

WILLIAM JAMES and Samuel Johnson both had a lively interest in ghosts and other paranatural phenomena, and so it was not surprising when the two great men met recently over claret at the Yale Club in Manhattan. Nor is it surprising that as great university men, James of Harvard and Johnson of Oxford (Pembroke), they turned to the subject of the American university and its future, or lack of one. They sat in the vast two-story lounge on the second floor, a room steeped in a sense of tradition, including reproductive tradition as symbolized by the Corinthian columns with their rams' horn motif, the rosette ceiling (a traditional female symbol in poetry and architecture), and the frieze of chubby children in between. Solemn patriarchs look down approvingly from varnished oil paintings.

JAMES: I say, I usually take an optimistic view of things, within sensible limits, but I was certainly depressed when I visited Harvard last week.

JOHNSON: I myself have been traveling around the campuses of this country, Sir, and my customary melancholy has deepened profoundly.

JAMES: For one thing, the general style of life there is so atrocious. Harvard Square has a few shops of the older sort, clothes, tobacco, books, and the like, but the rest of it is disposable culture, "funky," as they say, no past and no future, no seriousness, no sense of personal dignity. I believe a man named Macdonald called this *kitsch*, or garbage. And *kitsch* seems to be the style of Harvard itself today. I must say, the streets are full of *funny*-looking people.

JOHNSON: No place, not even Oxford, is exempt. Arnold would be hard put to discern the "last enchantments of the Middle Ages" there today.

JAMES: I ran into, I tell you, Marxists at Harvard. Hardly any in economics or the "hard" sciences, but spreading through the humanities—philosophy, religion, sociology. The law school is buzzing with them. I thought we had demolished Marxism in every aspect by 1900. Freud also lives on in the humanities and in the "soft" sciences. In the 1890s we already thought him reductive, mechanical, a victim of single-cause thinking. My *Psychology* provides a much subtler and more accurate account of the human mind, if I may say so.

JOHNSON: Hold on to your chair, Sir. I have heard a female professor at a major university advocating a "gynocracy." By that she meant a society based upon the supposed female qualities of passivity, caring, nurturing, and pacificism. She simply posited all of this. She did not derive it from history or observation. It almost makes me long for old Rousseau. Almost, but not really. I once said that that man should be hunted out of society. When I thought of either Voltaire or Rousseau, I preferred the other.

When history and experience are not consulted, fad is king, and mindless utopias are culled out of air. Perhaps, though, one hopeful sign is that these people write in such an impenetrable jargon that no one can understand what they are saying.

JAMES: I always believed that obscurity was an almost certain sign of intellectual fraud. As a matter of honor, I always tried to write clearly, even when the thought was complex. As you did yourself, Sir. But I see that bad writing today has given rise to a veritable cottage industry of academic "interpretation." Characteristically, they call interpretation "hermeneutics."

JOHNSON: If dead polysyllables were horses, intellectual beggars might ride.

JAMES: And yet it is not in me to despair of the university, which, after all, has had its cyclical ups and downs. Gibbon thought Oxford utterly benighted, and Gray despised Cambridge. Reform did come, and it may come again. The Oxford of Newman and Arnold was far, far better than Gibbon's. And there's a professor at Chicago named Allan Bloom who hopes for a revival of genuine learning and intellectual seriousness within the university.

The great collapse came during the 1960s. Today, the graduate students of that period have tenure. But they will be gone soon—none too soon, I might add—and sanity may return.

JOHNSON: Professor Bloom, Sir, may be milking the bull. Those misshapen products of the Sixties will train, hire, and promote their own progeny. Lacan Jr. will succeed Lacan Sr. Deconstructionist will give birth to Deconstructionist. Marxists and feminists will proliferate like HIV.

In consequence, Sir, I foresee that the serious intellectual life of the country will move outside the university. The university will move to the margins of serious culture, where it perhaps belongs. I never taught. Nor did Wordsworth, Byron, Hardy. Edmund Wilson never taught. The American Southerners did their best work before they became professors. It was not until after World War II, you see, that literary criticism became "academic" and novels and poems were written specifically to be "taught."

Except in the checkable sciences, where results must stand up, I see the university as marginal to serious minds for the foreseeable future.

JAMES: You were always tough-minded, Sam, but from what I have seen, I cannot hope that you are wrong. □

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Nuclear energy can help America find a way out of our dangerous dependence on foreign oil

Oil imports are increasing to dangerous levels. As the uncertainty in the Persian Gulf continues, the ability to rely on America's nuclear energy becomes more important than ever.

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As America's economy continues to grow, America must find ways to keep pace with its growing electricity needs. Nuclear energy can play a major role in meeting those needs as well as keeping us less dependent on foreign oil.

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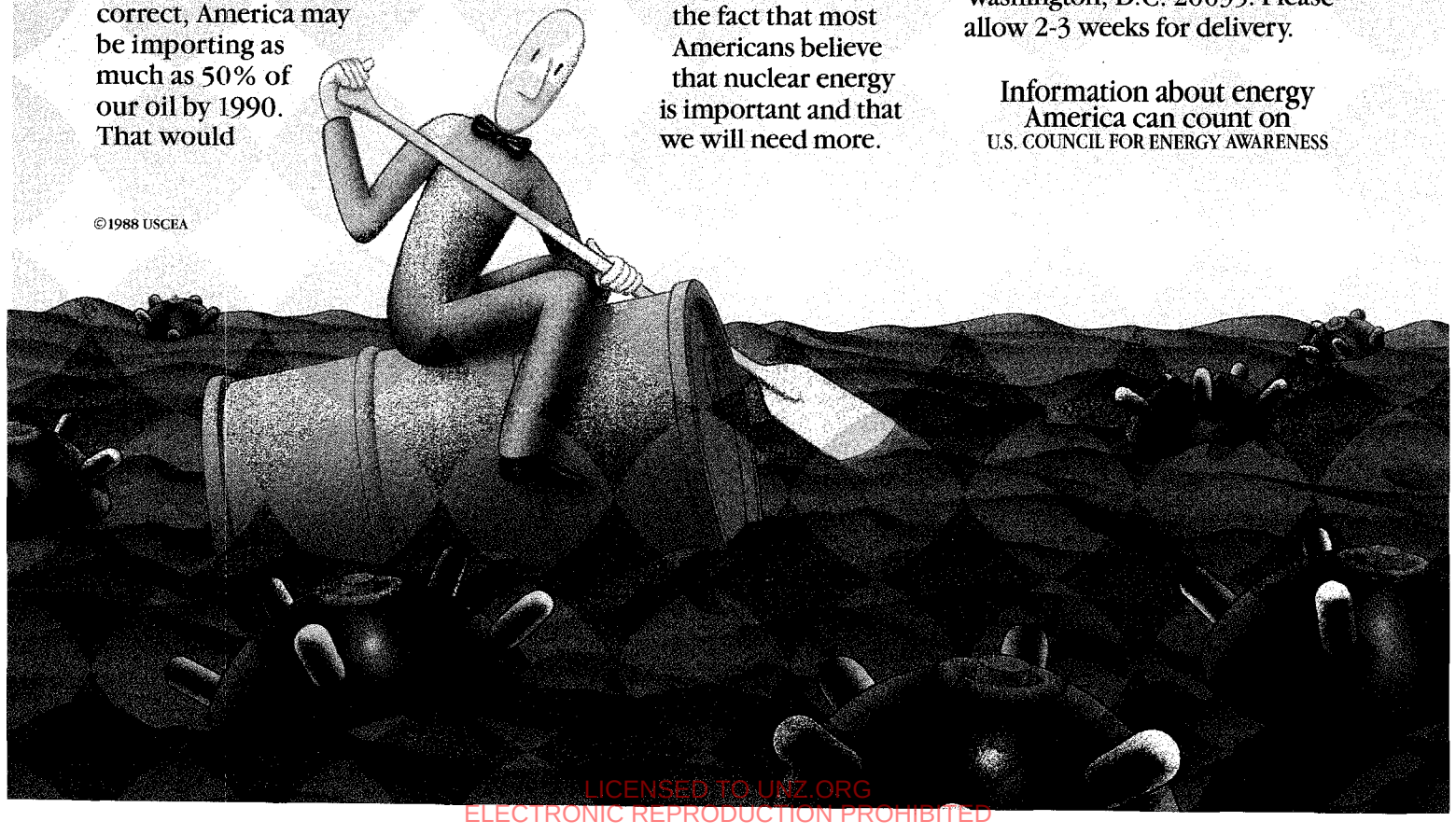

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THE AFGHAN TRAP

On February 8, Mikhail Gorbachev made a dramatic announcement: If the U.S. cut off aid to the Afghan resistance by March 15, Soviet troop withdrawal could begin on May 15 and be completed within ten months. He indicated that this pullout could be "front-end loaded," as Secretary of State Shultz had proposed, and that it would proceed regardless of whether there was agreement on an interim Afghan government to succeed the Communist regime.

U.S. media immediately concluded that "peace is at hand." The possibility of "a good settlement" is nearing, claimed the *Washington Post* the day after Gorbachev's announcement. Two days later, a *New York Times* editorial hailed the pledge as "an extraordinary statement" that indicates that, "from all appearances, Moscow has made the painful decision to lose a war."

Perhaps. But the euphoria of the press ought to be tempered by the hard lessons of history. In 1978, after 25 years of active Soviet subversion, the Communist Party of Afghanistan seized power in a bloody military coup. Within a year, the new regime had executed tens of thousands, imprisoned many more, and tried to destroy religion and all other independent institutions. Out of 15 million Afghans, more than one million have died since the war began, and nearly five million more—*one-third* of the total population—have fled to Pakistan and Iran, trading the abject misery of Soviet domination for the squalor of life in refugee camps.

Moscow has invested billions of rubles in a long-term program to build an infrastructure of Communist control in Kabul. Does Gorbachev's offer really signal an abrupt about-face? Or is it more likely that the Soviet proposal is part of an effort to win by diplomatic cunning what the Red Army has failed to achieve by military force?

To avoid that possibility, President Reagan has all along insisted that aid to the resistance continue until all Soviet troops have been withdrawn and an independent government is in place. He reiterated his commitment just before the 1987 Summit and again in his 1988 State of the Union message.

Astonishingly, a faction within the State Department appears to have been following a different policy altogether. These career officials are working for a settlement based on the 1985 Geneva draft treaty, which would require a Western aid cutoff as soon as a troop withdrawal *begins*. Given the Soviets' history of announcing mere troop rotations in Afghanistan as troop withdrawals, that policy is a formula for Soviet victory.

Information about the State Department's independent strategy first became public in May 1986, when a key supporter of the Afghan resistance, Senator Gordon Humphrey (R., N.H.), was questioning a senior State Department official. The official admitted that Shultz knew about the change of policy, but would not say whether President Reagan knew. On February 11, 1988, the *New York Times* published a report headlined "Reagan Didn't Know of Afghan Deal," and quoted "White House and State Department officials" as confirming that "an American commitment in 1985 to end military aid to the Afghan guerrillas at the beginning of a Soviet troop withdrawal was made without the knowledge or approval of President Reagan." This recent report is disturbingly consistent with testimony last year and with the pattern of State Department actions on other foreign-policy issues.

Reports from Capitol Hill suggest Shultz may have actually closed the deal during a recent trip to Moscow. "Our sources say the deal was made," says Don Morrissey, Legislative Director to Congressman Bill McCollum (R., Fla.), a longtime supporter of the Afghan resistance. "It includes a front-end cutoff of aid with a front-loaded withdrawal of troops. None of the Afghan alliance leaders are party to the agreement and there are no plans to make them." McCollum is circulating a letter (dated February 24) among House colleagues calling on Reagan to reject a settlement that: fails to recognize the Afghan Mujahedin alliance; demands a cutoff of U.S. aid before Soviet troops are withdrawn; permits the Soviets to continue aiding their puppets in Kabul; or fails to assure the repatriation of refugees and the return of "tens of thousands" of Afghan children forcibly removed from their parents for "education" in the Soviet Union. A similar letter from Senator Humphrey has been signed by 28 of his Senate colleagues. On February 29, by a bipartisan vote of 77 to 0, the Senate passed a resolution calling for continued aid to the resistance until all Soviet troops are out and a "political solution in Kabul acceptable to the resistance" exists.

If State Department officials are allowed to have their way, there is a good chance the U.S. will accept a defective political settlement, allowing the Kremlin to eventually consolidate its power in Afghanistan. After all, the Soviet Union and its allies have frequently used political settlements as part of a strategy for eventual Communist victory. In 1986, an official Defense Department report concluded that in at least four peace agreements the Communist side committed "significant violations, including military ones . . . immediately after the agree-

Mr. Menges, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, served as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs from 1983 to 1986. His forthcoming book, Inside the National Security Council, *will be published by Simon and Schuster this June.*

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ments went into effect, suggesting that the Communists were planning the infringements even as they were negotiating." Among the examples in this report: The terms of the 1962 "settlement" on Laos required North Vietnam to remove its ten thousand troops through designated checkpoints in the shortest time possible, but "only forty left the country through International Control Commission checkpoints." In 1973, the Paris Accords required North Vietnam to withdraw all its forces from Cambodia and Laos and refrain from introducing any additional forces into South Vietnam. In fact, "North Vietnam never observed the cease-fire and troop-withdrawal requirements. Within three months . . . Hanoi had already illegally infiltrated some thirty thousand additional troops."

To these disturbing instances, we should add the conclusion reached by President Reagan in four annual reports on Soviet non-compliance with arms-control agreements. The 1984 report concluded that "over a 25-year span the Soviets had violated a substantial number of arms-control commitments." And in 1985, Reagan said about these vital agreements, "There is a pattern of Soviet non-compliance."

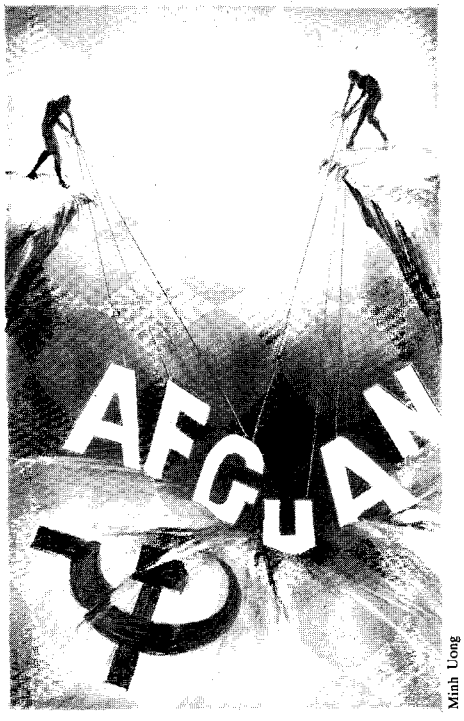
Since the United States has made no effective response to repeated treaty violations, Gorbachev might reasonably expect to be able to use the offer of Soviet troop withdrawal—spaced over nine months with no certain way for the U.S. to monitor actual troop levels—as a lever to terminate U.S. aid. Then there would be many ways for the Kremlin to keep Afghanistan within the Soviet orbit.

Some observers have suggested that the Soviets plan to annex (de facto) northern Afghanistan, leaving a nominally free rump state in the south. The Soviets have taken considerable pains to integrate mineral-rich northern Afghanistan into their own southern "socialist republics," exchanging Party cadres, building joint water projects, and emphasizing ethnic ties between Afghan tribes and their Soviet cousins immediately to the north. An already divided Afghanistan would then be susceptible to further manipulation, perhaps by reviving long-simmering "Pushtunistan" separatist sentiments.

But even without annexing the north, the proposed settlement offers the Soviet Union ample opportunities to maintain control over Afghanistan. For example, it might try to divide and demoralize the Afghan Mujahedin, as the different resistance groups begin to discuss the composition of the new government and methods of Soviet withdrawal. Held together principally by hatred of Soviet occupation, the resistance alliance would be very vulnerable to Communist destabilization in such a new political context. Three groups within the alliance seek a secular government such as a constitutional monarchy or a Western-style parliament, but the four "fundamentalist" groups demand an Islamic state. The Soviets may have proposed a role for the former king, Zahir Shah (deposed by a left-wing coup in 1973), in order to aggravate these differences.

As in 1980, when the Soviets tried to mask their domination of Afghanistan with a cosmetic "broad front" government, they may try to control the "new" government through ostensibly non-Communist Afghans who are clandestine Communist allies. Moscow will probably attempt to maintain control over the premiership, the army, the secret police, and the ministries of education and communication.

U.S. wavering would weaken Pakistan's support for the resistance. (Pakistan is essential both as sanctuary for Afghan guerrillas and their refugee families and as a conduit for getting aid to the fighting forces within Afghanistan.) Publicly, Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq sensibly refuses to have anything to do with Moscow's puppet, Najibullah. But recent reports are that the State Department has begun to pressure Zia to go along with its settlement.



Minh Uong

Divisions between resistance groups might also be exacerbated as some leaders reject the emerging settlement as a Soviet trap while others embrace it as a vehicle to power. The spectacle of freedom-fighters warring among themselves would sharply undermine Western—and Pakistani—support for them. Meanwhile, the UN-created verification system, like other verification groups in the past, will probably overlook Soviet violations while vigilantly monitoring and limiting movement from Pakistan into Afghanistan.

The Soviets can calculate that infighting within the resistance, a U.S. cutoff, and unobstructed Soviet violations would dramatically weaken the resistance. Then, in late 1988, with the U.S. preoccupied with presidential politics, Soviet troops and secret police could be secretly reinfiltrated in order to cut the resistance down further.

Soviet victory in Afghanistan is a real possibility. It can still be avoided if President Reagan makes sure his Administration adheres to his own policy. How? By clearly reaffirming that policy in public statements and regularly using meetings of the full National Security Council to ensure his control. In addition, the United States should be willing to *increase* military aid to the resistance unless the Soviets agree to withdraw their forces and permit a truly independent government in Afghanistan. On their side, the resistance leaders can declare that unless the Soviet Union withdraws soon and permits an independent, non-Communist government, they will not grant amnesty to members of the Afghan Communist government, and the future Afghan government will be anti-Soviet rather than non-aligned. They can also let Moscow know they will seek billions in reparations for the suffering they have endured in almost ten years of war.

Unless this defective settlement is prevented, there is a grave probability of a Communist Afghanistan, the dismemberment of Pakistan, Soviet gains in Iran, and pro-Soviet radicals taking power in some of the Persian Gulf oil states. □

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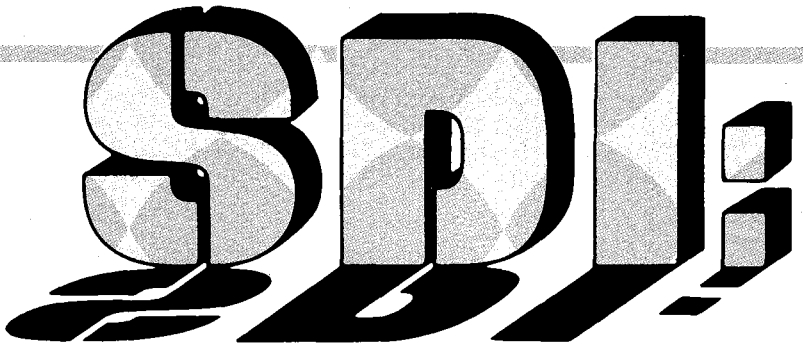

Making America Secure

On March 23, 1983, President Reagan asked American scientists to take a fresh look at the possibilities for defending America from attack by ballistic missiles, in the light of the new technologies of defense and an altered global balance of military power. SDIO—the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization—was established in response to his call.

On the eve of the fifth anniversary of the President's speech, the editors of NR *put a number of key questions relating to SDI to the Technical Panel on Missile Defense of the George C. Marshall Institute. The questions begin with the basics—Do we need SDI? Is there no good alternative? Will the Soviets pre-empt if we start to deploy?—and go on from there.*

People say the doctrine of nuclear deterrence has kept the peace since World War II. If that's true, what's so important about SDI?

A little history is useful in answering this key question. In 1956, Khrushchev threatened to intervene in the Suez crisis. In 1973, Soviet leaders prepared to send troops into the Middle East. In both cases, the United States was able to stand off the Soviets with threats of nuclear reprisal.

But in 1979, when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, the U.S. no longer dared to respond with a nuclear alert. President Carter withdrew from the Olympics instead. By that time, U.S. nuclear forces had been checkmated by the Soviet missile buildup. Technical advances in weapons further eroded the U.S. nuclear deterrent.

Several factors contributed to that erosion.

First, and most important, during the 1970s, the Soviets built up their ICBM force to massive proportions. It is now an effective first-strike force, with both the *numbers* and the *accuracy* needed to take out all key U.S. military sites, including nuclear command and control centers. If these are knocked out, our nuclear forces will be decapitated and useless, even if the nuclear weapons are still intact.

In 1973 the Soviets had only a few hundred nuclear weapons capable of destroying a hardened military site. But by 1979, the Soviets had more than three thousand such first-strike weapons, suitable for use in a surprise attack against the United States. Today they have some six thousand warheads with this capacity. The U.S. has nine hundred warheads of comparable accuracy and destructive power.

The number of Soviet first-strike warheads is still increasing rapidly. The CIA estimates that by the 1990s the USSR may have more than 12,000 accurate warheads capable of destroying U.S. forces in a surprise attack.

Second, nuclear warheads are getting more accurate. One of the newest warheads is accurate within 120 meters. This unprecedented accuracy means that the hundred-odd most important targets in the U.S.—the command and control centers—could be destroyed in the future with relatively small nuclear weapons.

The consequences of this development for U.S. security are potentially catastrophic. Zbigniew Brzezinski points out that while very large nuclear weapons make a first strike "messy and unpredictable," small, accurate weapons "make the dreaded first strike a viable option."

Third, the Soviets have assembled elements of a nationwide defense against U.S. missiles. They are nearly ready for a breakout from the ABM treaty. The main missing link is the network of nine huge battle-management radars, which should be completed around 1992.

The Soviet nationwide ABM defense will be effective enough to block a ragged U.S. nuclear response with diminished forces—all the U.S. would be able to launch after a Soviet first strike.

Once the Soviets' nationwide ABM system is completed, the U.S. will not be able to place at risk those targets on which Soviet leaders place the highest value: the Soviet military forces and the lives of the political leadership.

To be sure, the U.S. will always have a few warheads left, after a Soviet first strike, to target on Soviet cities. However, it would be foolish for the President to order a strike on Soviet cities, because that would generate a reprisal against U.S. cities. Contrary to general belief, Mutual Assured Destruction has not been U.S. policy for many years. Our strategy is not to attack Soviet cities. It

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is to retaliate against a Soviet attack by destroying the Soviet military as an effective fighting force, thus preventing Soviet leaders from accomplishing whatever aims of conquest motivated their attack.

How do these changes affect U.S. security?

The doctrine of nuclear deterrence is collapsing. In five to seven years, the U.S. will be vulnerable to nuclear blackmail—if it is not already vulnerable. When that happens—that is, when U.S. vulnerability to a massive Soviet nuclear attack becomes apparent to the world—the Soviets will be seen to have gained "an historic military advantage," according to Robert Gates, Deputy Director of the CIA.

How widely shared is this alarming view of the Soviet threat?

Last summer the Joint Chiefs of Staff "validated"—that is, put their stamp of approval on—an evaluation of the Soviet threat for the 1990s put together by the entire intelligence community, including the CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency, and intelligence organizations attached to the three separate armed services.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff judged the erosion of our deterrent—that is, the threat to our retaliatory capability—to be so serious as to warrant moving SDI from the research stage into the development stage. This move from research into development means that the SDI Organization can now begin to test and develop these weapons. This is "Milestone I" in the weapons-acquisition procedures of the Defense Department.

The basis for that important move by the Joint Chiefs is the intelligence community's assessment that our nuclear deterrent has been placed at risk by the Soviets.

How about the alternatives to SDI? Would mobile missiles allow the U.S. to evade a Soviet first strike?

Mobile missiles are less vulnerable to a first strike. The accuracy of warheads does not matter if the target has been moved a few miles down the road. The Soviets have come to this conclusion and have developed a new line of ICBMs (SS-24s and SS-25s) that can be deployed on trains and trucks.

However, even if the U.S. follows suit and deploys its own mobile missiles, that will not eliminate the vulnerability of U.S. nuclear command and control centers.

Moreover, residents of rural areas in the U.S. are certain to object violently to the idea of missiles with nuclear warheads rolling along their roads and highways. The U.S. missiles, mobile or not, will end up staying inside the fence on military reservations, where they will remain vulnerable to a Soviet barrage attack.

What about deterring the Soviets by building a first-strike force to match theirs?

A buildup of the MX missile force might do this. The MX has a warhead accurate enough to place at risk the Soviet command posts, bunkers for the top Soviet political leadership, and other high-value targets. However, the force of one hundred MX missiles proposed by the current Administration would not be large enough to balance the Soviet threat. With ten warheads per missile, a hundred new MX missiles would place only one thousand warheads in the field, not enough to make an appreciable dent in top-priority Soviet military targets. But five hundred MX missiles, carrying five thousand warheads, might do the job. That would be a first-strike force nearly matching the Soviet force, and as menacing a threat to the Soviets as their ICBMs are to us.

The result would be a Mexican standoff between two adversaries, each armed to the teeth, and each capable of delivering a knockout blow if it could get in the first punch. This would indeed be a balance of sorts, but it would be unstable.

Then how can we restore American security?

There is another way: Protect critical U.S. military sites—nuclear command centers, and the like—from a Soviet first strike by shooting down the oncoming Soviet missiles and warheads with intercepting missiles. In other words, protect key sites with an ABM defense. That preserves our capability for effective retaliation, and deters the Soviets from attacking.

The Technical Panel on Missile Defense of the George C. Marshall Institute

John Gardner is Vice President for Engineering and Operations of the McDonnell Douglas Corporation, and former Director of Systems for the Strategic Defense Initiative.

Edward T. Gerry is the President of W. J. Schafer Associates, a member of the Air Force Scientific Advisory Board, and co-inventor of the gas dynamic laser.

Robert Jastrow is the founder and past Director of the Goddard Institute for Space Studies of NASA, first Chairman of NASA's Lunar Exploration Committee, and recipient of the NASA Medal for Exceptional Scientific Achievement.

William A. Nierenberg is Director Emeritus of the Scripps Institute of Oceanography of the University of California, San Diego, a member of the Defense Science Board and the National Science Board, and first Chairman of the NASA Advisory Council.

Frederick Seitz is President Emeritus of Rockefeller University, past President of the National Academy of Sciences and the American Physical Society, former Chairman of the Defense Science Board, and former Science Advisor to NATO.

The Consultant to the Panel, Lt. Col. Simon P. Worden, is Commander of the Space Defense Operations Center, U.S. Space Command, a former special assistant to the Director of SDI, and former Advisor to the Geneva Nuclear and Space Arms talks.

The Executive Officer for the Panel, James J. Frelk, is Executive Director of the George C. Marshall Institute, a former national-security-affairs analyst for the U.S. House of Representatives, and former Congressional Liaison to the Office of the National Security Advisor.

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Why didn't the U.S. build an ABM defense in the 1970s when the Soviet missile buildup began to look ominous?

The problem is that in the 1970s, such a defense would have had to be located on the ground, shooting up at the Soviet warheads as they descended. But such a "ground-based" defense is readily overwhelmed, either by firing so many warheads at it that its inventory of interceptors is used up, or by so-called "structured attacks," such as "laddering down."

"Laddering down" means exploding a string of nuclear weapons over a target, one after the other, at progressively lower altitudes. The first explosion creates a fireball that disables our intercepting warheads and clears the way for the second warhead. That warhead descends through the fireball and explodes at a lower altitude, clearing the way for the third warhead, which is coming right behind it. By the time the third or fourth warhead explodes, the "ladder" has reached the ground, and the target is destroyed.

The bottom line is that by means of "laddering down," the Soviets can usually count on three or four warheads to destroy any site, no matter how many interceptors are available to defend it.

Another weak link in the 1970s defense was the network of critically important radars to track oncoming warheads. These radars would also have been located at fixed sites on the ground, easily targeted by the Soviets and vulnerable to destruction in a surprise attack.

If ground-based defenses against a missile attack can be readily overwhelmed, why is the government pursuing SDI?

A new technical situation has developed in the last five years, which permits us to get our defenses off the ground and up into space, in orbiting satellites. The development of these "space-based" defenses eliminates the vulnerability of U.S. defenses to "laddering down" and other kinds of structured attacks. In other words, a defense based in space cannot be readily overwhelmed. That means a new ballgame.

Space-based defenses are now possible through a marriage of the technologies of the computer, the satellite, and the heat-seeking "eye" (used so effectively in the Stinger and other air-defense missiles). Tests in space and in the atmosphere have shown that a miniaturized computer, working with a heat-seeking "eye" on a small missile, can steer the missile into the path of an oncoming warhead or ICBM. This combination of the heat-seeking eye and the computer brain produces the so-called "smart bullet."

Brian Callanan

The new technologies also make the defense less dependent on large, vulnerable radars. A warhead can be tracked quite well without radar, by a combination of a lightweight heat detector, which finds the direction to the warhead by picking up its warmth against the cold of space, and a low-powered laser range-finder, which measures the distance to it with great accuracy. This equipment is sufficiently small and light to be flown in aircraft or on satellites, less vulnerable to attack than fixed radars on the ground.

Confronted with smart bullets based in space, the Soviets cannot count on the kind of carefully timed attack needed for "laddering down." Laddering down requires very precise timing. The warheads, after a long flight over the Pole or the ocean, must appear over the target, one by one, at just the right time, and with just the right spacing from one warhead to the next.

Even if the Soviet commander assigns special missiles to take out our key military sites by laddering down, he will be uncertain of success, because our space-based defenses may shoot down the very missiles he has assigned to these key targets. That means he cannot count on destroying critical military installations—especially the command centers for U.S. nuclear forces.

The space-based defense breaks up the timing of the Soviet attack. Then the ground-based defense mops up the remaining warheads. This one-two punch is devastatingly effective in blocking a nuclear attack

The key to a truly effective defense against Soviet attack turns out to be a combination of the space-based defense and the ground-based defense. The space-based defense breaks up the timing of the Soviet attack. For example, in a laddering-down attack, it takes rungs out of the "ladders"; if a "ladder" loses even one rung, its usefulness is gone.

Then the ground-based defense mops up the remaining warheads. If the U.S. has "eyes in the sky" to see what gets through the first or space-based layer, we can even pick out the warheads that are headed for the most important targets, and concentrate on stopping those. This one-two punch is devastatingly effective in blocking a nuclear attack.

How widely accepted is the view that the Soviet threat must be countered by a space-based *defense?*

The "architecture" of a space-based defense backed up

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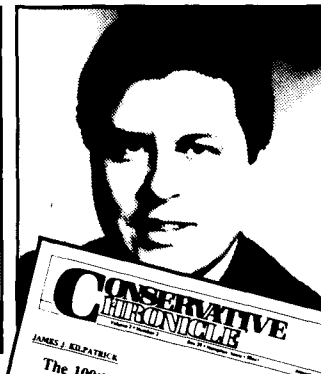

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by a ground-based defense was presented by the head of SDI to the Defense Acquisition Board, which approved the plan for a two-layer defense using smart bullets. The Defense Acquisition Board controls actual weapons purchases in the Department of Defense. Its approval constitutes recognition by the defense establishment that an urgent military requirement exists for a defense against Soviet missiles, and that this requirement can be met by space-based defenses.

Isn't it destabilizing for the U.S. to build a defense against Soviet missiles? Won't the Soviets feel threatened?

The Soviets might feel threatened if a situation developed in which the U.S. had an effective defense against Soviet missiles and the Soviets had no defense against U.S. missiles. But that is not the situation that will confront the Soviets in the 1990s. They have been working on missile defense for 15 years and have a larger SDI program than we do. Secretary Gorbachev said about the Soviet SDI in a television interview just before the December Summit, "The Soviet Union is doing everything the U.S. is doing."

The options available to the U.S. are: Either we go ahead full speed with SDI, in which case each side will have a defense against the other side's missiles in the 1990s; or we fail to deploy SDI, in which case the Soviet Union will have a defense against our missiles, but we will have none against theirs.

That would be destabilizing.

The Soviets might feel threatened if the U.S. had an effective defense against Soviet missiles and the Soviets had no defense against U.S. missiles. But that is not the situation that will confront the Soviets in the 1990s

Will the Soviets launch a pre-emptive attack if we start to deploy defenses in space?

In the near term, they won't attack for the same reason they don't attack the United States at this very moment—namely, because we have an effective deterrent in our ballistic-missile submarines. But by 1995, the Soviets will have completed deployment of their fifth-generation ICBM arsenal, and will also have completed their nationwide ABM defense. At that time, they will have clear military superiority, because they will have the ability to disarm the U.S. by destroying the command and control network for our nuclear forces, while sustaining tolerable or no damage to their own military and industrial base.

If the U.S. has not deployed a space-based defense by that time, the Soviets will be in a position to prevent us from deployment by going on a "yellow alert" and threatening a nuclear attack, as Nixon did in 1973 when Brezhnev started to move Soviet troops into the Middle East. An actual Soviet attack will be unnecessary, since its disastrous consequences for the American nation, and our inability to retaliate effectively, will be so apparent to U.S. leadership.

Some American scientists say a space-based defense against missiles won't work. Why are you confident that these "smart-bullet" defenses will work in space?

Smart bullets have been tested with considerable success both in space and in the atmosphere. Two tests of space-based smart bullets were carried out recently. In the first, a satellite equipped with "smart-bullet" capabilities successfully tracked a missile in space, and then homed in on it and destroyed it. This test showed that smart bullets can locate a missile even when the missile is completely enveloped and obscured by the plume of its own rocket.

The most recent test, in February 1988, showed that "smart bullets" can track a "bus" (the vital section of an ICBM that carries all the warheads) even after the missile itself has burned out and fallen away. This capability means that the U.S. defenses can catch Soviet ICBMs with many of their eggs still in one basket—i.e., with a number of warheads still on board.

That vital success in tracking a bus means an end to the era of the MIRVed missile, a particularly fearsome weapon of destruction that carries a whole cluster of nuclear warheads. If an ICBM can be caught and destroyed right after it is launched, and before it has deployed all its warheads, there is little gain from MIRVing.

Do Soviet scientists believe SDI will work?

Last fall, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze yanked the rug out from under the American scientists who say space-based defenses won't work. "If you want me to speak frankly," Mr. Shevardnadze told reporters, "I do believe that the SDI is a feasible program." His comment was not surprising, since the Soviets are reported to have ten thousand scientists working on laser defenses—more than three times the size of our SDI effort in this area.

Aren't the computer programs for SDI impossibly complicated?

The software requirements were originally estimated to be ten million lines of code, but they have now been worked out in detail and turn out to be four to six million lines. This is a large program, but not exceptional. For purposes of comparison, the code for a recent and very complicated SDI test in space totaled one million lines of code. That code was written in six months and worked perfectly on the first try.

How can you test the effectiveness of the SDI software properly, short of trying it in a nuclear war?

The one aspect of SDI that *can* be tested fully is the software. When signals are fed into the front end of the program, they look exactly the same to it regardless of whether they have been produced by a Soviet missile leaving its silo or by a piece of equipment that generates signals imitating the real thing. In fact, modern equipment can create realistic "battles" that test the program more

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fully than a real attack. It can hurl more "missiles," "warheads," and "decoys" at us than the Soviets could ever build. And it can "launch" them more quickly than the Soviets could ever launch their missiles in an actual attack.

How can we guard against a catastrophic failure caused by a computer breakdown or an error in SDI software?

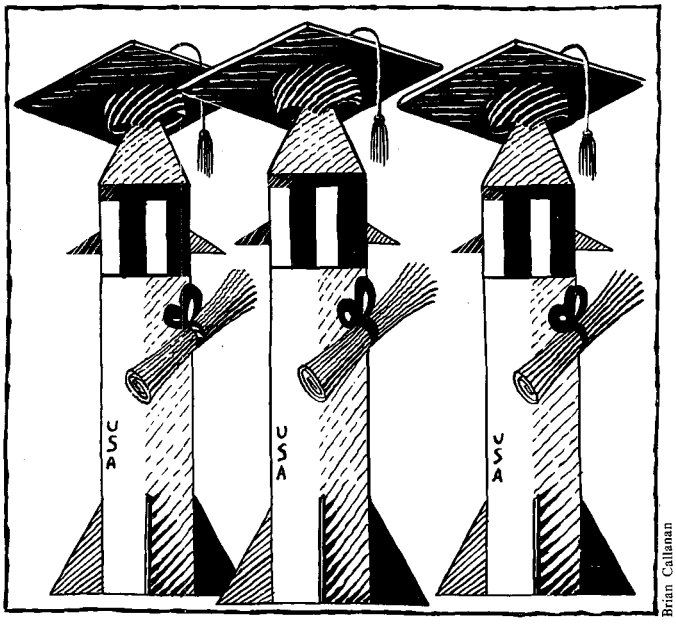
No lengthy computer program can be error-free. The approach used by SDI is to build the system so that it is heavily redundant and will perform its mission even if some computing errors are present.

Several steps are necessary for the achievement of this goal. *First*, software and hardware errors can be deliberately inserted into the program, and the system can then be tested and refined until it is "error tolerant." That is, it can be designed to carry out its tasks even with coding errors or badly damaged hardware in it, just as the brain continues to function after some damage to brain tissue. *Second*, the software is redundant; every important decision is made in several ways by independent lines of computer reasoning. *Third*, all the computer hardware is heavily redundant. That is, the electronic parts are duplicated. *Fourth*, the programs are compartmentalized—broken up into boxes. If a box fails, the program works around it; the whole system never crashes. *Finally*, the communications links that connect the different parts of the system are also heavily redundant.

This redundancy follows the pattern used by nature in the design of the human brain to minimize the chance of a catastrophic failure. Enough redundancy is being built into SDI software and hardware to reduce the probability of catastrophic failure essentially to zero.

What about the false alarm—a computer error that activates the U.S. defense when we haven't been attacked?

There is a vital difference in this regard between the existing policy of deterrence by the threat of retaliation, and the new policy of deterrence by defense. Under deterrence by the threat of retaliation, a false alarm could trigger the launch of ballistic missiles carrying hundreds or thousands of nuclear weapons. Once launched, these missiles cannot be recalled. Soviet retaliation is certain to follow. This is the existing U.S. policy. Under it, the consequences of a false alarm are catastrophic for both superpowers.



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But under the new system of deterrence by defense, if a computer error triggers the firing of "smart bullets" in a false alarm, the consequences are not the detonation of thousands of megatons of nuclear explosives, visiting untold destruction upon the territories and peoples of both nations. In fact, very little happens, for the smart bullets fired by the defense are non-nuclear and probably contain no explosives of any kind. A good number will escape from the earth, and the remainder will not destroy a single building, because they lack the heat shielding necessary to penetrate the earth's atmosphere without burning up.

How effective will the smart-bullet defense be?

The first stage of the 1990s defense, with a layer of smart bullets in space and another layer on the ground, will have an effectiveness of about 50 per cent. The fully deployed 1990s defense, with many more smart bullets in space and a total of three layers, will have an effectiveness of better than 90 per cent. That is, nine out of ten Soviet warheads will be destroyed.

What good is a 50 per cent or 90 per cent defense when one warhead can blow up a city?

Even a 50 per cent defense is sufficient to create a paralyzing uncertainty in the mind of the would-be attacker. Soviet leaders are aware that starting a nuclear war would risk the very survival of their own state. If a Soviet commander knows only half his warheads will get through to their targets—this is what a "50 per cent defense" means—he knows he cannot hope to "ladder down" and wipe out the bulk of our retaliatory forces in a surprise attack. He knows that a large fraction of our nuclear arsenal and command and control network will remain intact after the first strike, and that, less than sixty minutes after he gives the order to launch, his own nation's military forces and industry will lie in ruins. To attack the United States under those circumstances would seem to Soviet leaders to be suicidally irrational. But the Soviet leadership is rational.

How much will this defense cost?

The first installment of the defense will cost between $50 and $70 billion. This is about the same as the cost of five hundred Midgetman missiles or a new type of Air Force fighter—two weapons systems the U.S. Government is already planning to buy. For the fully deployed, three-layer smart-bullet defense, independent estimates have arrived at a cost of about $120 to $130 billion.

The estimate of $130 billion comes from a rule of thumb given by former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown: to get the cost of a fully deployed weapons system, multiply the cost for research and development by ten. The R&D cost of the smart-bullet defense in SDI's five-year program totals approximately $13 billion. Applying the Brown rule gives $130 billion as the cost for the system.

This result is in close agreement with a figure of $121 billion arrived at by a different method by the Marshall Institute panel on missile defenses. The panel made a detailed examination of the costs of all the pieces in the three-layer defense—satellites, smart bullets, and so on—and added up the separate items to arrive at a total.

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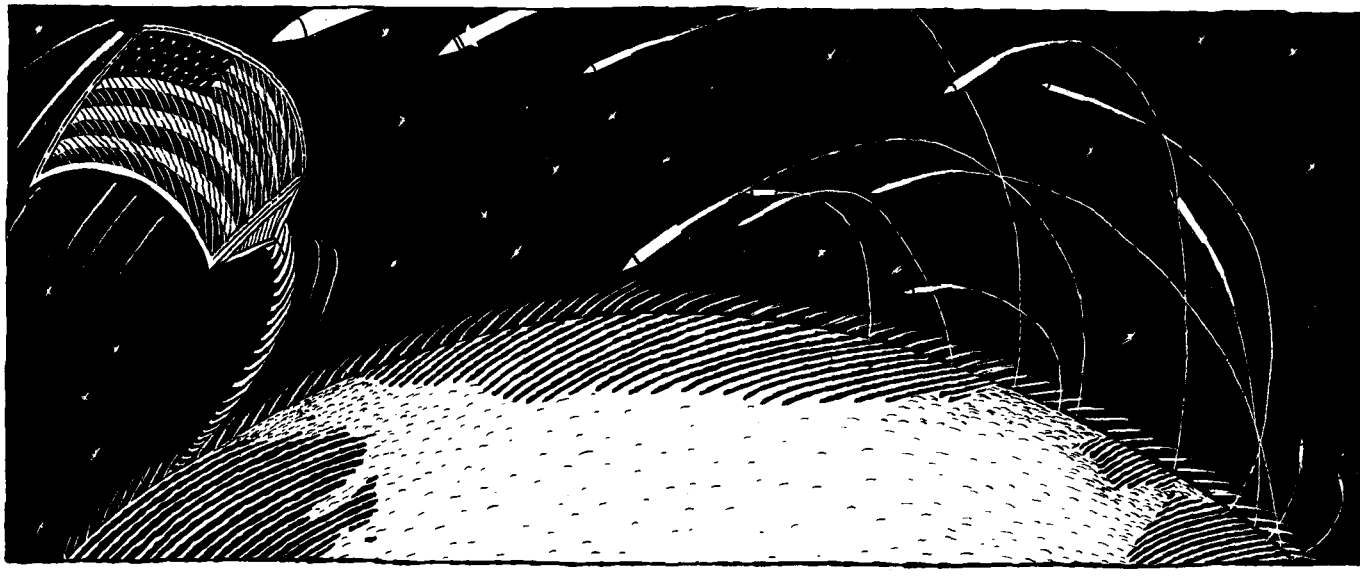
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There is no evidence to support the widely quoted cost estimates—frequently offered by former defense officials and Soviet spokesmen—of a trillion dollars or more for a space-based defense.

What about the criterion proposed by Ambassador Nitze—that a missile defense should be "cost-effective at the margin"?

Nitze's point is that it should cost the U.S. less to build our defense than it costs the Soviets to build their arsenal, and that it should cost the U.S. less to upgrade our defense than it costs the Soviets to upgrade their arsenal. How do the figures work out for SDI?

The total cost for Soviet deployment of fourth- and fifth-generation missiles through the mid-1990s is approximately $620 billion. The U.S. expenditure of $120 to $130 billion for a 1990s space-based defense that will negate the first-strike potential of this arsenal is cost-effective by a ratio of approximately five to one.

Our satellites will not be as easily destroyed as some scientists have suggested. Satellites have been vulnerable because no one has been shooting at them, just as airplanes were vulnerable early in World War I

With regard to incremental costs, each additional Soviet SS-24 costs approximately $200 million over the lifetime of the missile, including basing. The interceptors that can destroy the missile cost $6 million each, but only one in ten can be used during an attack. (The other nine are elsewhere in their orbits, and not within range of the Soviet missile fields at the time of the attack.) So the destruction of the Soviet ICBM effectively costs the U.S. ten times $6 million, or $60 million. The marginal-cost ratio is roughly three to one—still favorable to the defense.

Couldn't the Soviets blow a hole in the U.S. defense planned for the 1990s by knocking out our satellites before they launch their first strike?

U.S. satellites will not be as easily destroyed as some American scientists have suggested. Satellites have been vulnerable in the past because no one has been shooting at them, just as airplanes were vulnerable at the start of World War I. Once the enemy started to shoot at these early aircraft, they put on armor, mounted guns and cannons to shoot back, and became highly maneuverable to dodge attack. Later, military aircraft developed electronic countermeasures, metal decoys to confuse radars, heat flares to confuse heat-seeking missiles, and so on.

The satellites being developed for America's space-based defenses are using all these stratagems of defense, including armor, "shoot-back," maneuverability, heat-generating decoys, and a bag of electronic tricks. No single stratagem gives 100 per cent protection, but these stratagems together can make it very difficult and costly to kill a constellation of satellites. The secret of survivability for U.S. satellites is to make the cost of killing them so great that the Soviets are unable or unwilling to risk the attempt.

What about missiles launched on low trajectories from submarines near our shores? Wouldn't these Soviet missiles reach their targets—say, Washington—too quickly for our defenses to work against them?

Our ability to track and destroy "flat-trajectory" missiles will not be impaired by their short flight time. *First*, because they fly low and stay in the atmosphere, flat-trajectory missiles cannot deploy decoys. *Second*, because they fly lower and slower than ICBMs, they are easier to track, intercept, and destroy. *Finally*, some ground-based "smart bullets"—the HEDI and the FLAGE are examples—are specially designed to intercept and destroy low-flying, submarine-launched missiles. As a consequence, it doesn't matter appreciably to the effectiveness of our defenses whether the flight time is five minutes or twenty minutes.

What about fast-burn boosters? Some critics of SDI say they could be a highly effective Soviet countermeasure.

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The fast-burn booster is a high-acceleration ICBM that burns out in one or two minutes, in contrast to three to five minutes for current Soviet missiles. (Rockets are sometimes called boosters because they boost a payload into space.)

U.S. plans for a space-based missile defense assume that the smart bullets in space will get a good shot at the Soviet ICBMs before the ICBMs burn out. But shortening the burn time of Soviet ICBMs will make it more difficult for the U.S. to destroy them in the critical early phase of their flight, because fewer "smart bullets" (with heat-sensitive detectors) will catch up to their targets while they can still see them. (The heat detector responds to the flame of the rocket; after the rocket burns out, the smart bullet may not be able to see it.)

How valuable these fast-burn boosters will be to the Soviets depends on how quickly they can build them. Time is of the essence, from the Soviet point of view, because the U.S. smart-bullet defense is planned to tide us over a period of strategic vulnerability that peaks in the 1990s. But by the turn of the century, or the first years of the next century, our government hopes to have some laser defenses in orbit to augment the smart-bullet defense. The laser beams, or "light bullets," used in these more advanced defenses travel at 186,000 miles per second—thousands of times faster than a "smart bullet." A laser beam will have no trouble catching up to an ICBM, even if the ICBM burns out quickly.

The intelligence community recently took a careful look at the question of how quickly the Soviets could build fast-burn boosters and put them into the field. The intelligence experts concluded that it would take at least 15 years to do this. That means the Soviets could not deploy a fast-burn arsenal until the beginning of the next century. But that would be too late, because the U.S. expects to have an effective laser defense by that time.

Why did the intelligence community decide the Soviet Union could not build a fast-burn booster quickly? The fast-burn booster would be an entirely new rocket, requiring a new engine, a new rocket body to counter the stresses of acceleration, and a new mechanism for keeping the ICBM from toppling over and breaking up in flight. And if the fast-burn ICBMs carried more than one warhead each, they would also need new buses to deploy their string of warheads quickly. (Existing buses take twenty to thirty seconds per warhead, or as much as five minutes for a string of ten warheads, and are vulnerable to smart bullets during this long deployment time. Furthermore, recent tests show that the buses can be seen clearly by the heat-seeking "eyes" on U.S. satellites while they are deploying their warheads, even though the rocket flame of the bus is not as bright as the flame of the booster itself.)

All these new features add up to a different ICBM. For several decades, it has taken the Soviets 12 to 15 years to design and put into the field each new generation of ICBMs. They are just now deploying their latest ICBMs —the fifth-generation SS-24s and SS-25s. Adding 12 to 15 years would bring the Soviets to the end of the century—and to the advent of U.S. laser weapons, which would negate the usefulness of their trillion-dollar investment in a new arsenal.

Faced with that prospect, Soviet leaders may rethink their policy, and stop building new ICBMs.

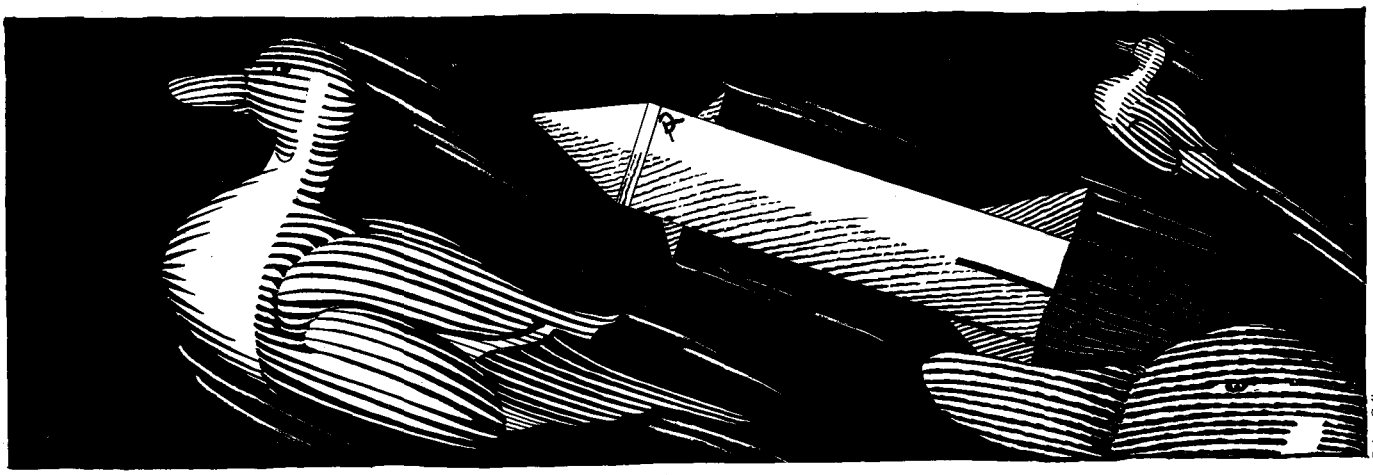
Suppose the attacker tries to confuse the defense by launching thousands of decoys along with the real warheads. How can our defense handle that problem?

A decoy is a lightweight object built to present the appearance of a warhead to an enemy satellite. If the decoy weighs one-twentieth as much as a real warhead, a massive attack by ten thousand Soviet warheads could be accompanied by two hundred thousand decoys. SDI critics say U.S. defenses would be swamped.

But decoys pose no problem for the space-based layer of the defense, which aims to catch and destroy the Soviet missiles shortly after they have been launched. At that time, decoys and warheads alike are still packed away in the missile. Since a space defense destroys the decoys before they can be deployed, it does not matter how many decoys the missile carries.

Decoys also pose no problem for the "terminal" layer of the defense, which catches the Soviet warheads toward the end of their flight, as they descend through the upper atmosphere and approach their targets. Since a decoy is always considerably lighter than a real warhead, the resistance of the atmosphere slows down the decoys more than it slows down the warheads. (If a decoy were as heavy as a warhead, the attacker might as well replace it with a warhead.) To tell the warheads from the decoys, the defense has only to observe which objects lag behind as the flock of apparent warheads enters the atmosphere. Ignoring the lagging objects, which are the decoys, the defense goes after the others, which are the real McCoy.

However, decoys do create potential difficulties for the



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U.S. defense in the so-called midcourse layer. This layer—which lies between the space-based layer and the terminal layer—tries to destroy the warheads as they arc through space over the Pole or the ocean.

Decoys can be a serious problem in midcourse because, when the warheads and the decoys are traveling through space, there is no appreciable atmospheric resistance to separate them. Technical opinion is divided on whether other techniques can be found for distinguishing warheads from decoys in this region. Very elegant methods have been suggested—for example, tapping each of a flock of objects with a pulse of laser light to see how they recoil; the ones that recoil the most rapidly are the lightweight decoys, and the others are the warheads—but these methods have not been tested yet.

Decoy designers are optimistic about their product. They say convincing decoys can be built, which will withstand scrutiny by the best "eyes in the sky" we can put in orbit in the mid-1990s. But no one has yet built one of these sophisticated decoys. They are a gleam in the eye of the decoy designers.

On the other side, the designers of instruments for our eye-in-the-sky satellites say their instruments will be doing a very good job of decoy discrimination by the mid-1990s—but they also have some distance to travel before they reach that goal.

Protection against accidental launches is badly needed. However, gaining this insurance will require U.S. withdrawal from the ABM treaty. Withdrawing from the ABM treaty is a good idea

While we wait for this technical wrangle between the decoy designers and the eye-in-the-sky instrument designers to be resolved, the value of the midcourse layer remains in doubt. The best way to handle the decoy problem for the present is to build a space-based defense that destroys the missiles before their decoys have been deployed, and cuts down the number of decoys at the outset.

If our defense destroys Soviet nuclear warheads, won't that cause nuclear explosions in space?

There can be nuclear explosions in space if the Soviet warheads are "salvage fused" to explode on approach of the intercepting missile or smart bullet. However, these explosions will cause no clouds of radioactive dust and no damage on the ground, provided the interception occurs above fifty thousand feet. Our interceptions will always be above that height.

How about getting started now on deploying missile defenses, by building a limited defense against accidental launches? Senator Nunn and several others have proposed this recently. Isn't it a good idea?

Protection against accidental launches is badly needed. However, gaining this insurance will require U.S. withdrawal from the ABM treaty. Withdrawing from the ABM treaty is a good idea, because, as matters have worked out since the treaty was signed, it now leaves America vulnerable to nuclear destruction.

Why does the modest objective of accidental-launch protection require withdrawal from the ABM treaty? *First*, even if the defense only uses ground-based smart bullets (a type of smart bullet called the ERIS, developed by Lockheed, is the most suitable), the area that can be covered by the ERIS smart bullet is limited. To get protection for the whole country (we do not want to protect the population of Los Angeles, say, and abandon New York, or vice versa), the U.S. must use the ERIS in combination with the full suite of early-warning radars spread across the North from Alaska to Greenland.

These early-warning radars were set up by the U.S. to give warning of air and missile attacks. The ABM treaty forbids using them for ABM defense.

Second, even with the radars, we would still not have protection against missiles launched from submarines off the coast unless ground-based smart bullets were placed in several locations near both coasts, as well as in the interior of the United States. But the ABM treaty forbids the placement of interceptors at several different locations. It allows them at one site only.

Third, a very large number of interceptors would be needed. An accidental launch is usually thought of as one or two missiles, but an accidental launch from one Soviet submarine could mean twenty missiles and 180 warheads headed for the United States. An accidental launch from one centrally commanded SS-18 field (SS-18s are based in clusters of fifty) could mean as many as five hundred warheads streaking toward the United States. Consequently, at least a thousand, and possibly several thousand, ground-based interceptors would have to be deployed to protect us even against "accidental" launches. The ABM treaty also forbids that. It allows only one hundred interceptors.

All these actions—using early-warning radars for an ABM purpose, putting ABM interceptors at sites around the country, and deploying at least a thousand interceptors—add up to more than a "modest amendment" to the ABM treaty, the phrase used by some advocates of accidental-launch protection.

In fact, accidental launch protection amounts to building a robust, nationwide defense against ballistic-missile attacks. Article I—the cardinal clause of the ABM treaty—forbids a nationwide defense against missile attacks. It does not distinguish between attacks launched by accident and attacks launched with intent to destroy a nation. If the U.S. wants to prevent the possibility of American cities being devastated by an accidental launch, it has to give up the ABM treaty. □

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SOCIALISTS AGAINST THE PAST

IT WAS APPROPRIATE that Rumania's Nicolae Ceausescu was awarded the Order of Lenin this January, for his tyranny—especially in the realms of ethnic and cultural oppression—is more impressive even than the current Soviet variety.

The seeds of Rumania's misery were sown during World War I, when the fledgling country—which had become an independent kingdom only 35 years before—changed sides twice, fighting with the Allies from 1916 to 1918, then making a separate peace with the Central Powers, and then reneging on that deal and reopening hostilities in early November of 1918, just in the nick of time for it to receive its reward at the Paris Peace Conference. For its efforts, it was given an enormous part of the freshly dismembered Austro-Hungarian monarchy; from Hungary, in fact, it received more territory than was left to that thousand-year-old kingdom, including the provinces of Banat and Transylvania.

As a result, millions of Hungarians now live in Rumania, where they are treated by Ceausescu's regime as an alien body whose ethnic character must be destroyed. This should come as no surprise: all forms of leftism abhor plurality and variety. The ideal is a country of one race, one language, one faith, one class, one income level, one type of education, one ideology—all centralized under the rule of one party, one leader.

The German National Socialists under Hitler wanted to destroy the tribal and historical traditions of the *Reich*, and they systematically exterminated all those who belonged to other "racial" groups. On the same rationale, the nationalistic, socialistic regime of Ceausescu relentlessly seeks to deprive minority groups of their leadership, their traditions, their languages, with its principal victims being the Hungarians. The situation is particularly bad in Transylvania, which was once the vital center of Hungarian patriotism and culture. This had been an area of lively religious diversity, including ethnically German Lutherans (the Transylvanian Saxons), Hungarian Roman Catholics, and Rumanian Eastern Rite Catholics. Under Communism, however, all have been forced into the Orthodox Church, which in Rumania, as in the USSR, has become little more than an arm of the government. And the regime's strategy has succeeded: by and large, Transylvanians have been intimidated into submission, losing much of their cultural identity.

But if Transylvania and Banat have suffered under Ceausescu's Communist regime, so have Walachia and Moldavia, the core of Rumania itself. The Hungarians in Rumania and the Rumanians themselves merely live in different circles of Hell. The Rumanian economy is the worst in the Soviet bloc; in Eastern Europe, only Albania can boast a lower standard of living. During the winter, even in Bucharest, there is little or no heat in people's homes, and, while Rumania exports large quantities of meat, dairy products, cereals, and produce, food is as scarce as heat for her own people.

While Rumanians starve and freeze, the government pours all its resources into major public enterprises like the Danube-Black Sea Canal, or the reconstruction of cities, carried out in such a way as to destroy all signs of the past, feudal as well as bourgeois, with particular attention to the architectural treasures of the Christian religion. In Bucharest, for example, two monasteries have been removed from the heart of the city and rebuilt in out-of-the-way spots. Ten more have been demolished entirely and replaced by residential buildings or by superhighways running right through the city. (And this while for months at a time gasoline is reserved strictly for the *nomenklatura*!) A minor earthquake in 1977 served as a welcome excuse for a further uprooting of the past.

The churches and monasteries out in the countryside have been more fortunate. (Many have been preserved, especially in Moldavia: these gorgeous monuments attract tourists, and thus bring in hard currency.) But the centers of many beautiful old cities are menaced, and not only the Hungarians of Transylvania, but also the Rumanians of Walachia and Moldavia have appealed to UNESCO for help. After all, one of that outfit's major tasks is the preservation of cultural monuments. But, as was to be expected, this very leftist organization declared that it was not competent to "interfere" in any country's internal affairs.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU wants to destroy the past—his own people's and, even more so, that of others. His building program, following the national and international socialist pattern, aims at the elimination of an architectural heritage, and its replacement by drab mass dwellings and colossal monuments to political power. He reminds one very much of Hitler and his infernal hatred of Austria. For a few months after the *Anschluss*, Hitler renamed the country "The Danubian Marches." But this still was too reminiscent of the Danubian Monarchy, and thus the country became "The Alpine and Danubian Districts." A professor at the University of Vienna had to fight for half a year for permission to call his department the "Research Institute for Austrian History." (And, at that, the lettering on the door had to be very small.)

Under Communism, too, there should be no past, only a future. But the future looks bleak for Rumanians—for the majority and even more so for the desperate ethnic minorities who are seeing their rich cultural heritage brutally destroyed. □

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MANAGING DECLINE

Samuel T. Francis

The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000, by Paul Kennedy (Random House, 677 pp., $24.95)

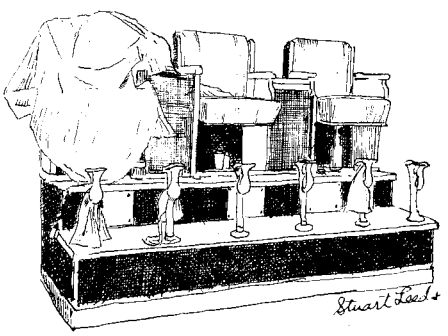
THE GREEK historian Polybius, witnessing the burning of Carthage by his patron, Scipio Africanus, says that the Roman general "burst into tears, and stood long reflecting on the inevitable change which awaits cities, nations, and dynasties, one and all, as it does every one of us men." It came to Scipio's mind that the fate of Rome's great enemy would eventually befall Rome itself. With their pagan belief in historical cycles, both historian and general had no doubt that Rome, like "the once mighty empires of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and that of Macedonia," would some day come to an end.

Paul Kennedy believes much the same thing about America as a "great power," although his theory, not based on faith in cycles, avoids the unpleasant prophecy that our country will be annihilated. Mr. Kennedy sheds no tears over his nation's decline. Indeed, he appears to welcome what he thinks is an unavoidable American retreat from world power and concludes that the thing to do is not to resist the trend but to manage it gracefully.

If Mr. Kennedy does not weep, his readers' eyes may moisten at the prospect of wading through 540 pages of a text that is often repetitive, recapitulating facts and figures presented elsewhere in tables, and that generally rehearses the known facts and familiar academic theories of diplomatic, military, and economic history from the sixteenth century to the present. Mr. Kennedy argues that "there exists a dynamic for change, driven chiefly by economic and technological developments, which then impact [*sic*] upon the social structures, political systems, military power, and the position of individual states and empires." As he acknowledges, this is not a new or surprising idea. Nevertheless, despite the absence of much intellectual depth or novelty, Mr. Kennedy's presentation of historical information about a broad range of Western and non-Western societies of the last five hundred years is a useful if often tedious compendium that ought to collect dust on the shelves of every library.

Mr. Kennedy's application of his ideas to contemporary events leads him to the conclusion that the United States has missed the boat to permanent world power and, with Europe and the Soviet Union, has entered a period of "relative decline" vis-à-vis non-Western nations such as China and Japan. He does not predict an Asiatic global hegemony, however, but rather the evolution of a multi-polar and multi-dimensional international system: some states will acquire economic, others military power, but none in the near future will emerge as an undisputed world master as Britain did in the eighteenth century or the United States after 1918.

There is little doubt that his thesis is essentially correct, as far as it goes.



Over the past forty years—a period long enough to establish a historical trend—America has clearly declined in both economic and military power, and there is no sign that the trend is about to be reversed. In 1954, when the left-leaning president of Guatemala, Jacobo Arbenz, purchased an arms shipment from Czechoslovakia and was deemed a threat to U.S. interests in Central America, the Eisenhower Administration promptly removed him. The move excited little controversy in the United States at the time, and the coup against Arbenz was quickly relegated to New Left doctoral dissertations. Today, after seven years of a foreign policy centered on the much more tangible threat to U.S. interests in Central America represented by Cuba, Nicaragua, and the various insurgencies they support, we have done nothing substantive to remove it, and a consensus has yet to emerge even that there is a threat—let alone, if there is one, what to do about it. The devolution of our understanding of

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Robert Royal is vice president for research at the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, D.C.

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ LEFT OVER FROM FEBRUARY: *Mary McCarthy: A Life* (St. Martin's, $24.95), by Carol Gelderman, is the first comprehensive biography of the novelist and critic; interestingly and objectively written, it emphasizes the relationship between Miss McCarthy's life and her work.

The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity (Belknap/Harvard, $25), by Edwin O. Reischauer, is essentially a reworking of *The Japanese* (1977). Despite his generally admiring view of the Nipponese, he has strong reservations concerning their endemic racism and "number-oneism," which, he believes, make Japan's position vis-à-vis the rest of the world the single greatest problem in contemporary international relations.

☐ MORE MARCH TITLES: *The Power Game: How Washington Works* (Random House, $22.50), by Hedrick Smith—who for 25 years has had "a fifty-yard-line seat at the power game" as both correspondent and bureau chief for the *New York Times*—considers the changes that have occurred in Washington politics over the past ten years, and the way the establishment operates now. It has interesting things to say concerning congressional aggressiveness toward the White House and the burgeoning of special-interest groups, staff power, and video politics.

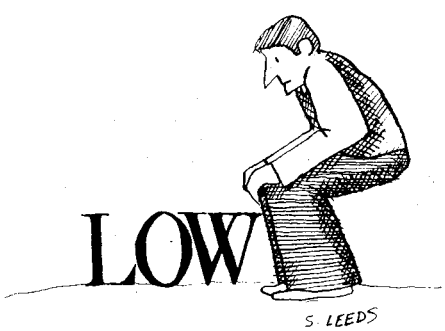
☐ COMING IN APRIL: In *MexAmerican* (Crown, $19.95), Lester Langley finds that while Mexican immigrants to the United States outwardly adapt themselves to American ways, they remain inwardly loyal to their cultural heritage, declining to commit themselves to the historical process of acculturation. . . . In *Hispanic U.S.A.: Breaking the Melting Pot* (Harper & Row, $19.95), Thomas Weyr concurs with Langley that Hispanic immigrants to this country resist cultural assimilation, preferring to maintain their ethnic identity through history and folklore, and the Hispanic Catholic Church. According to Weyr, their refusal to learn English makes bilingual education nearly mandatory: by the year 2000, there are expected to be, in the U.S., as many people whose primary language is Spanish as people whose primary language is English. —CW

how to keep and use power, from Eisenhower to Reagan, is by itself a clearer indication of national decline than the most complicated statistical chart in Mr. Kennedy's book.

The loss of power by a nation has never been much fun, as the Carthaginians could have told us, if there had been any Carthaginians left after what Scipio did to them. Mr. Kennedy does not dwell on such unpleasantness, and admittedly it is a difficult subject to study. Human history is largely a tale told by the victors, who are not likely to take much interest in the woes of the vanquished. But Mr. Kennedy has other reasons for downplaying the possible results of our decline. "It may be argued," he writes at the end of the book, "that the geographical extent, population, and natural resources of the United States suggest that it ought to possess perhaps 16 or 18 per cent of the world's wealth and power" instead of the at least 40 per cent share it had in 1945; "what we are witnessing at the moment is the early decades of the ebbing away from that extraordinarily high figure to a more 'natural' share."

> The task facing American statesmen over the next decades . . . is to recognize that broad trends are under way, and that there is a need to "manage" affairs so that the *relative* erosion of the United States' position takes place slowly and smoothly, and is not accelerated by policies which bring merely short-term advantage but longer-term disadvantage. . . . It needs to be repeated again and again that the decline referred to is relative, not absolute, and is therefore perfectly natural; and that the only serious threat to the real interests of the United States can come from a failure to adjust sensibly to the newer world order.

No doubt we can repeat such mantras as often as we like, and perhaps the Carthaginians did too, believing that their empire was only declining relative to Rome's and would thenceforth enjoy a more natural share of power and wealth. Such repetitions would not have helped Carthage, and they will not help us. The "naturalness" of America's decline is a cute little assumption that Mr. Kennedy has managed to sneak into his argument to help rationalize his equanimity.



In fact, the decline of American power goes much further than Mr. Kennedy's charts and tables suggest. The failure to win in Vietnam, to know what to do or how to do it in Central America, or to grasp the realities of the Soviet system of power and of non-Western competition implies that it is not the erosion of America's "productive base" that is the problem, but the lack of will or capacity on the part of America's elite to understand and make use of power. Except for some commonplaces about Western "pluralism" in his first chapter, Mr. Kennedy has little to say about the cultural foundations of this weakness, and it is clear he does not believe them particularly important, any more than most of his elite readers do. Once they have his ponderous book under their belts, they will go on their merry way, managing America's decline, adjusting to the new world order, and inventing reasons why their self-destruction is natural. There is nothing in Mr. Kennedy's book to teach them anything else. ☐

FADING LIGHTS

Robert Royal

The Excellent Empire: The Fall of Rome and the Triumph of the Church, by Jaroslav Pelikan (Harper & Row, 176 pp., $18.95)

IN THE WEST, the fall of Rome and the rise of Christianity have long served as historical paradigms. Battles have raged over the interpretation of these events, particularly among those who read Roman history as a duel to the death between pagan and Christian virtue. Certainly America's Founding Fathers looked to the Classical paradigms for guidance. Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, and others read Roman history as a warning. Hamilton denies, in Number 70 of *The Federalist*, that modern nations will learn much from "the dim light of historical research," but then turns to the history of the Roman Empire in search of support for his view that there should be no division of the Executive power. Burke,

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Adam Smith, and Tocqueville also drew sophisticated lessons about contemporary France, Britain, and America from Roman history. Even Karl Marx could not help admitting that in considering several facets of modern history, he was "reminded of Rome."

Jaroslav Pelikan, the distinguished professor of history at Yale, takes an original approach to the fall of the Roman Empire by alternating chapters on the two major forces in the interpretation of the subject: Edward Gibbon and several Fathers of the Church.

Gibbon more than anyone else is responsible for the common idea of the fall of Rome as the result of progressive decadence, "the triumph of barbarism and religion," as he put it. Although Pelikan hastens to point out that Gibbon was not quite sure if barbarism and religion were the same thing, and that his views of Rome's decline and fall took into account multiple factors, nonetheless, Gibbon's scorn for the intervening Christian centuries marks the high point of Enlightenment self-satisfaction. Today, even a Gibbon would be much less triumphalist about human virtue. In fact, human and religious virtue have come to seem more and more on the same side against large segments of modern opinion that deride the very concept of virtue.

In this, the modern secularist would find himself for the most part in agreement with several of the Church Fathers. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and others had mixed feelings about the tremendous social upheavals they were witnessing. Although some Christians saw Rome's fall in apocalyptic terms, most were caught between an admiration for parts of the old Roman legacy and the Christian hope for something better. In the Eastern Empire, though, as Pelikan documents, the fall of the West dovetailed nicely with the wish to see the rise of Constantinople as the emergence of a new Christian Empire.

Pelikan also corrects the widespread impression that the history of the Church over the first centuries is one of decline from pristine purity and simplicity to corrupting contact with the larger society. As is already detectable in Paul's letters, party spirit and various excesses affected the Church from the very first. The shift from a largely Jewish to a mostly gentile Church, says Pelikan, was a key factor.

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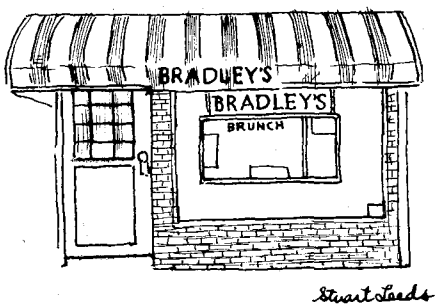
By the time the Church "triumphed," it was ethnically as heterogeneous as the rest of Roman society. This fact and the new opportunities created by the conversion of Constantine confronted Christians with serious questions about the use of wealth and power. To apply Ernst Troeltsch's categories retroactively, they had to deal with being a church instead of a sect.

In the second century, the pagan Celsus could still be puzzled by Christianity. The pagan religions demanded purity, he said. The Church welcomed and forgave the corrupt: "Whosoever is a sinner, they say, whosoever is unwise, whosoever is a child, and, in a word, whosoever is a wretch, the kingdom of God will receive him." The implication, for Celsus as for Gibbon, was that the Church encouraged ignorance and foolishness. The Church Fathers rebutted this charge, and the subsequent history of Christian social responsibility has proved them right. Nevertheless, the unifying sweep of Gibbon's eighteenth-century confidence in human virtue and scorn for the vast stretches of human darkness that he associated with religion has a power that still outweighs the labors of numerous revisionist historians.

Pelikan weaves these and many other threads into a dazzling historical tapestry. While academic historians of his caliber continue to write, our universities cannot entirely lose their memories. But in spite of the historical imagination that Pelikan brings to this enterprise, we are left with the feeling that the book will probably have a very limited readership. Far from reflecting on the value of Pelikan's work, this signifies that both the Enlightenment project and Christian history seem to have lost sway over the American imagination.

Yet perhaps even in this there is a lesson to be drawn from the fall of Rome. And as in so much else about America, Tocqueville was the first to draw it. Noting the American propensity to stick to the practical and neglect the theoretical, he, too, was "reminded of Rome": "Because Roman civilization perished through barbarian invasions, we are perhaps too much inclined to think that this is the only way a civilization can die." But, he warned, unless we make a conscious choice to understand first principles, "if the lights that guide us ever go out, they will fade little by little, as if of their own accord." □



A LIBERATED LIBERAL

Joseph Sobran

Liberalism and the Politics of Plunder, by Robert Gillmore (William L. Bauhan, 261 pp., $9.95)

ROBERT GILLMORE is one young liberal columnist who is worth reading. Unlike most liberal pundits, he has his own center of gravity. He doesn't simply attitudinize or find a new ad-hoc excuse every day for keeping in phase with the latest progressive emanations. He has principles, reasons, arguments.

What makes him quirky among liberals is that he affirms property rights. Liberalism, he says, has become "the party of public plunder." He lauds the New Deal for establishing "the minimal welfare state," but argues that recent liberalism panders to greed, offering benefits to people who don't need them. "Need be damned," he writes. "We have not only legalized public plunder but democratized it. Now nearly everyone is on the take." He doesn't shrink from calling those who accept public benefits they don't need "parasites."

Walter Mondale, he remarks, "has the soul of a ward boss. The ward boss is the ultimate transactional leader. Politics for him is not the clash of ideals but the cutting of deals." He attacks farm subsidies, protectionism, student loans, organized labor, Social Security, tax deductions for mortgages. Gillmore has served as a state legislator, but one gathers he has no plans to run again soon: all his opponents would have to do is quote this book.

"Liberal" is a misleading term. In the primacy he gives to property rights, Gillmore is more nearly a distributist. The state, he contends, should assure the citizen: "We will take from your property only as many taxes as we need to do our ethical duty of relieving the poor—and not a penny more." He sees welfare programs as a way of giving the poor property, thereby dealing them in on the way of life most of us enjoy.

This sounds a little pixilated, since welfare has turned out to be a trap for its equivocal beneficiaries more often than a ladder to the middle class. And Gillmore holds some other curious views. He favors a steeply progressive income tax, all but denies that tax rates affect incentives, and blames tax cuts for the federal deficit. "Labor," he alleges, "is exploited when it earns less than the consumers of its products." Even Marx might now shrink from that one.

But Gillmore doesn't mind being quirky, and a mind so uninhibited by convention and "common sense" justifies itself by hitting on the fresh formula more often than those who hold safer views: "How much income tax I pay depends not only on how much income I make but, of all things, on how I *spend* my income." That's how he launches his attack on tax loopholes: saying what we all know but somehow don't realize until it's said that way.

He says what needed saying about Jesse Jackson: "Jackson was not content [in 1984] merely to water the new stereotype of black as victim. He sought to perpetuate the old stereotype of blacks as hand-clapping, hymn-chanting simpletons." He dismisses Jackson's celebrated oratory as "baby-talk."

Affirmative action? He favors it, but allows that it's "sloppy. Its shorthand is crude. Affirmative action is just only if *all* its beneficiaries are victims of discrimination and only if its remedies are appropriate to the wrongs it rights." Still, he says its "beneficent crudeness" is "a lesser evil than the malevolent precision" of racism. Maybe so, but we can avoid both evils.

Gillmore defends legal abortion on the specious grounds that "a fruit fly is more like a human being than a fertilized egg, and a fruit fly, therefore, has more of a claim to be treated like a human being," but he nevertheless doesn't trivialize the issue. On the other hand, he sees no justification for capital punishment, assuming as he does that it doesn't deter murder. But he allows that "if only death deterred,

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death would be justified because it (and only it) would take a guilty life to save an innocent one. In fact, not to take a guilty life would be to condemn the innocent to die."

In foreign policy Gillmore doesn't mind being labeled an isolationist—an honorable position, he argues. He agrees with Ronald Reagan that the Soviet Union is an "evil empire," but he sees no global Communist threat: he puts the word "Communist" in quotation marks as if to imply it doesn't exist as a generic reality (unlike "racist," presumably). But his isolationism is consistent: he says South Africa is evil too, but observes that, being weaker than the Soviet Union, it's an "easy mark" for Western indignation.

Say what you will, Gillmore does his own thinking, and any man who doesn't take his opinions off the rack deserves respect and, what's more, attention. He's not likely to be President soon, but his eccentric views should be taken more seriously than those of most people who inhabit what we've learned to call the mainstream. □

FEASTING WITH PANTHERS

Jeffrey Meyers

Oscar Wilde, by Richard Ellmann (Knopf, 680 pp., $24.95)

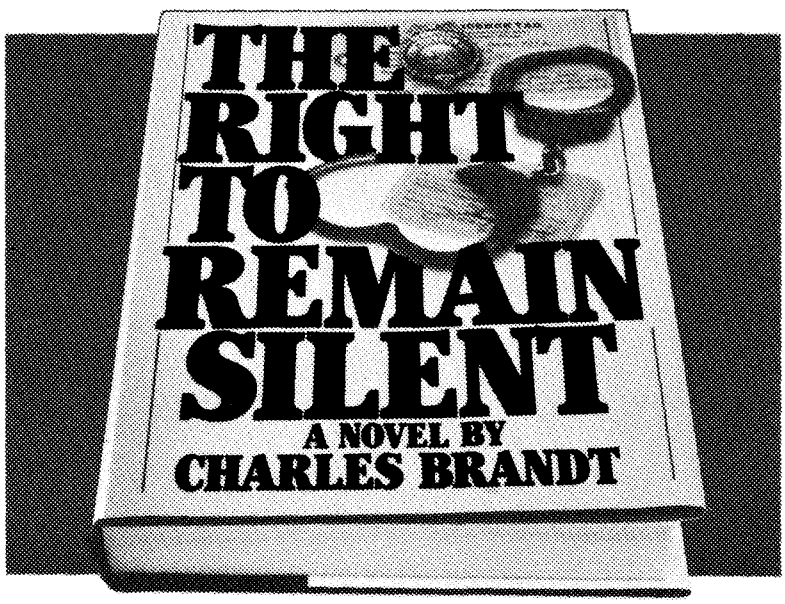
WILDE'S LIFE—encumbered by personal adornment and interior decoration, witty epigram and puzzling paradox—remains more interesting than his work. The late Richard Ellmann's sympathetic and humane biography is written, as befits the subject, with elegance and verve. The book is structured like a classical tragedy, with a peak of glory in the third part and a poignant descent into prison, exile, and penury in the final acts. The book offers a portrait of the artist as well as a cultural history of the age.

Wilde was born in Dublin in 1854, the son of a famous eye-and-ear doctor and a weirdly imposing literary mother. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he first exhibited his quintessential characteristics: "his Pre-Raphaelite sympathies, his dandiacal dress, his Hellenic bias, his ambiguous sexuality, his contempt for conventional morality." He won a scholarship to Magdalen College, Oxford, was torn between the earnestness of John Ruskin and the decadence of Walter Pater, became a full-blown aesthete ("I find it harder and harder every day to live up to my blue china"), flirted with Catholicism and Freemasonry, won the coveted Newdigate Prize for poetry, and was awarded the rare distinction of a double first in Classics. Wilde had a colorless, moon-like face, red cheeks, heavy eyes, thick lips, and bad teeth. Though he stood 6'3" and weighed as much as 190 pounds, his only outdoor sport was dominoes.

In London he practiced the art of self-advertisement with an unsettling mixture of vulgarity and charm. He exclaimed: "To write, I must have yellow satin"; and when asked to alter an early play replied: "Who am I to tamper with a masterpiece?" Capitalizing on the parodic portrait of himself as the aesthete Bunthorne in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Patience*, Wilde arranged an ambitious American lecture tour in 1882. He found the Atlantic "disappointing" and announced to the customs officials: "I have nothing to declare except my genius." He was kissed, after a candid meeting, by Walt Whitman. His affected pleas for beauty and his elaborate attacks on materialism aroused both amusement and malice.

In 1878 Wilde contracted syphilis

Is "The Right To Remain Silent" Letting Criminals Get Away With Murder?



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from a prostitute and suffered useless mercury treatments that turned his teeth black. Six years later he married the capable, intelligent, and loyal Constance Lloyd, and achieved respectability overnight. His two sons were born in 1885 and 1886, but he soon lost his enthusiasm for playing the husband. "Perhaps, by finding perfect expression for a passion, I had exhausted passion itself," he wrote in "The Portrait of Mr. W.H.," his essay on Shakespeare as pederast.

Wilde took rather a long time to discover the nature of his sexual proclivities. His first homosexual encounter occurred in 1886 when he was seduced by a teenage disciple and lifelong friend, Robert Ross. He then belatedly confessed his syphilis to his wife and discontinued their sexual relations. Ellmann describes Wilde's homosexuality ("he was not attracted to anal coition") with truthfulness and tact. But he observes it with a tolerant modern eye, ignoring and even idealizing the squalid side of inversion. Wilde was not, as Ellmann suggests, destroyed by Victorian hypocrisy. He broke the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 by committing "acts of gross indecency with another male person," lied to his lawyers, and was prosecuted by a society and a court that found his crimes repulsive. His novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), a tragedy of aestheticism and repression, describes the jealousy and pain, the fear and guilt of being a homosexual. Wilde compared this illicit activity to feasting with panthers: the danger was half the excitement.

His real nemesis was Lord Alfred Douglas, a handsome and charming but "totally spoiled, reckless, insolent, and, when thwarted, fiercely vindictive" aristocrat, whom he met in 1891. Douglas sponged off Wilde, competed with him for boys, detested him when he was weakened by illness, incited him to self-destruction, and "demanded misfortune as the final token of Wilde's love." After inheriting £20,000, Douglas refused to settle money on his benefactor and victim. He later became a Catholic convert, and was unexpectedly married and predictably divorced.

Douglas's father, the ninth Marquess of Queensberry, was a notorious prizefighter, gambler, adulterer, and atheist. In 1895, just after his second divorce and the suicide of his oldest son, he left a note at the playwright's club addressed: "To Oscar Wilde, posing as a Sodomite." Wilde—who could never resolve the conflict between his desire for homosexual freedom and his fear of social condemnation—recklessly instigated libel proceedings against Queensberry, which led inevitably to his own destruction. After Queensberry's accusation had been justified in court, Wilde was charged with sexual offenses. Frank Harris, a surprisingly chivalrous friend, told Wilde his case was hopeless and urged him to flee to France. Wilde was then at the very height of his creative powers; *An Ideal Husband* and *The Importance of Being Earnest* were both playing in London when his trial began.

Wilde thought he was acting honorably by standing trial. But he was also attracted to the drama of the courtroom and the excitement of disaster. Queensberry's detectives interrogated Wilde's lovers and gathered massive evidence against him. He was convicted and given the maximum sentence of two years' hard labor.

Wilde left prison a broken man. He stopped writing, returned to Douglas (who continued to torment him), suffered all the humiliations he had hoped to avoid by facing trial, and was reduced to begging from friends in order to survive. He died a messy death from an abscessed ear, a tertiary symptom of the disease he had contracted in his youth. □

THE ONE THAT GOT AWAY

Jeffrey Giles

The Book and the Brotherhood, by Iris Murdoch (Viking, 607 pp., $19.95)

IRIS MURDOCH'S characters never seem to have jobs. Some of them are retired, many of them are rich. If they are actors, they are "between shows." If they are writers, they are either "blocked" or—at the very least—successful, so they don't have to spend much time at it. In the meantime, they intellectualize, fall impossibly and fatally in love, plot their own deaths and their friends', and complicate their lives beyond recognition.

In Miss Murdoch's most brilliant novels, all this works to suggest that understanding our relationship to one another is quite literally the business of our lives. In her less successful books, the intention is not so clear. For all their philosophizing about life, love, and obligation, her characters can seem hopelessly out of touch with what is immediate and real. They make their life-or-death decisions instantly, and brood over trivialities; their most profound mistakes are made willfully, violently. Characters in Miss Murdoch's worst books suffer just as much as characters in her best books. The only difference is, they seem to deserve it more.

The Book and the Brotherhood, Miss Murdoch's 23rd novel, is an inconsistent, frustrating book. At its epicenter is David Crimmond—a left-wing polemicist who for decades has been writing "the book that the age requires." "The Brotherhood"—friends of Crimmond's from his days at Oxford—have been underwriting the project all the while, even though they have no idea what the book is about and they have, for the most part, come to hate and fear him. Crimmond, they believe, is a genius—how could anyone who thinks about death so much *not* be?

The Book and the Brotherhood provides real insight into the vicariousness with which we allow ourselves to live—both intellectually and morally—and at times it is genuinely moving. On one level, the Brotherhood merely expect Crimmond to coalesce all previous philosophical thought. On another level, however, they expect him to speak for their own shifting, ineloquent lives. Crimmond's failure, then, would be *their* failure, and it is for this reason that no one is anxious for him to finish his terrifying book. "The heroes of our times are dissidents, protestors, people alone in cells, anonymous truth-tellers," Miss Murdoch writes of one of the Brotherhood. "He knew he would not be one of these, but he wanted somehow to be near them."

Miss Murdoch's characters always seek to redeem and be redeemed. So naturally the members of the Brotherhood (and its hangers-on) trip over themselves as they search for the

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perfect spiritual union. Tamar seeks redemption in Duncan, who seeks redemption in Jean, who seeks redemption in Crimmond. In this world of missed connections and false reconciliations, no one ever manages to secure his ideal, but no one gives up hope either.

When Jean Cambus leaves her husband, Duncan, and pledges her life to Crimmond, she "discover[s] breathing, breathing such as holy men use, the breathing of the planet, of the universe, the movement into Being." For his part, Crimmond does not seem to notice Jean, although "sometimes he treat[s] her to Dante and to Pushkin." Jean talks about traveling through Europe once the book is finished, to which Crimmond responds characteristically, "One day we'll go away together—perhaps into death." Jean's dubious tryst with Crimmond sends Duncan into a tailspin, and forces the Brotherhood to rethink their generosity. They call a meeting with Crimmond and demand that he give some accounting of his book. Crimmond obliges, offering this less than brilliant defense: "I'm not a Stalinist. . . . I'm not a Leninist either. I don't like the term revisionist. I'm in the Marxist stream."

If Crimmond is supposed to be the intellectual force behind this novel, Tamar is its moral conscience. Tamar begins the novel as a shy, wispy young woman who seems to have a closet full of virginal white dresses. Born out of wedlock, she proceeds to become pregnant out of wedlock: reminding us, lest we forget, that her kind of innocence exists outside the established order. Tamar never finds a place in this society, and she flits in and out of scenes hysterically. By the time the other characters remember that she exists, she has had a devastating abortion and been "saved" by a priest who doesn't believe in God.

Miss Murdoch's rendering of the quest for an Ideal is always chaotic and quite often violent. *The Book and the Brotherhood* is no exception. Duncan resolves to kill Crimmond. Crimmond resolves to kill himself *and* Jean. Miss Murdoch's characters are always clumsy and inefficient, and have a hard time killing the people they mean to kill. Still, their impulse toward violence inevitably engenders freak accidents and pointless, tragic deaths. In this novel, the characters are petty and unreal, and such accidents seem more pointless and less tragic. "Learned people, intellectuals, have lost all their confidence," one character explains in what serves as a surprisingly helpful criticism of the book. "Their kind of protest is being esoteric. And at the other end it's smashing things. There's a gap . . . where the *thinking* ought to be."

Miss Murdoch wavers as to whether or not Crimmond—or anyone else in the novel, for that matter—is capable of doing the "thinking." Most of the exchanges, after all, read like Platonic dialogues for which Socrates never showed up.

> "What is this 'revolutionary struggle'?" said Rose, who had been blushing as she prepared to speak.
>
> "The struggle for the revolution," said Crimmond impatiently.
>
> "What revolution?" said Rose.
>
> "Revolution," said Crimmond, "is a Marxist concept—"
>
> "We know that!" said Gulliver.

There are moments in this new novel that call Miss Murdoch's best novels to mind—just enough, in fact, to make a reader wish he were reading

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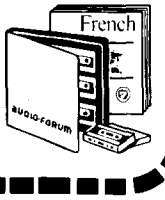

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one of those books instead. Revenge is a terrible force in *A Word Child*, but here it seems paltry: when Duncan loses Jean to Crimmond, he merely "shun[s] anything romantic or about animals." *The Sea, the Sea* is vast and intricately imagined; its characters cling to one another desperately. Crimmond and the Brotherhood, however, are just too slight to support the weight of Miss Murdoch's universe. They are dwarfed by the questions she asks them.

Perhaps the simplest, most resonant question Miss Murdoch has yet posed is, "Can one change oneself?" She asked that question directly in *The Sea, the Sea* and arrived at this lovely, if tentative, conclusion: "If there is any change it must be measured as the millionth part of a millimeter. When the poor ghosts have gone, what remains are ordinary obligations and ordinary interests. One can live quietly and try to do tiny good things and harm no one. I cannot think of any tiny good thing to do at the moment, but perhaps I shall think of one tomorrow." In *The Book and the Brotherhood*, simple questions are needlessly disguised. It is an ambitious book, but one within Miss Murdoch's reach. What is most frustrating is that there is no clear explanation of why she let this one get away. □

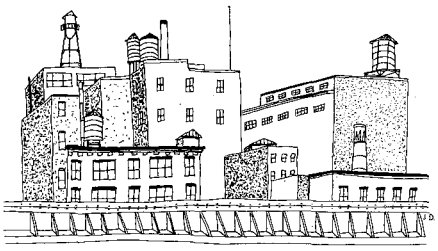
ART

GEORGIA O'KEEFFE IN WASHINGTON

James Gardner

IN THE marketplace of attitudes, there are two principal attitudes concerning Georgia O'Keeffe that clamor for the credulity of the willing buyer. The first conjures her up as that famous, ageless beauty of the Stieglitz photographs, the embodiment of femininity and pioneer spirit, the great Earth Mother thundering out of New Mexico. Her massive, legendary personality, an archetypal force of nature, seems to reach out to us even from beyond the grave, to which she descended but two years ago, after a life that spanned almost one hundred years.

Another attitude that has gained currency, best enunciated by Clement



Greenberg, takes a decidedly dimmer view. On this reading Miss O'Keeffe's work is at best an unresolved compromise between Modernism and tradition, a lump in the leaven of the avant-garde. Her subversiveness consists in appropriating certain of Modernism's hard-won formal convictions and placing them in the service of mildly vulgar crowd-pleasers. Whether or not Miss O'Keeffe sincerely wished to be as popular as she has become is not the issue: the fact is that she is liked and liked easily, and for this she will have to answer.

There is also a third attitude, a post-Modern one, that is not widespread as yet, but that impresses us by despising the second without endorsing the first. For the proponents of this reading, Miss O'Keeffe is the quintessential Modernist, with all that that implies of covert obedience to the status quo, of the purveying of mind-numbing anodynes and the effective sanitizing of the military-industrial complex. In this light, no more damning condemnation could have been asked for than the hugely successful retrospective of her paintings that began at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and now travels to Chicago, Dallas, and New York. Here, at least to the proponents of this third view, Modernism's alliance with big business and Middle America stands revealed in all its triumphant, brazen, and unlovely nakedness. Who, after all, could have believed, even a generation ago, that there would be held in the nation's capital a blockbuster exhibition, fanned by all the winds of computerized PR, devoted to Georgia O'Keeffe's small, biomorphic abstractions? Who would have imagined people showing up from all over the country, elbowing their way to the front of the crowd, in order to contemplate these small, moody exercises in color coordination and pure form?

Yet they will be doing so well into next year, and the reasons are not hard to find. The most powerful force in Miss O'Keeffe's creativity is the pleasure principle. Perhaps not since Fragonard has there been any artist as committed as Miss O'Keeffe was to conquering the viewer by the sheer gorgeousness of every painting. This driving impulse, so often seen in second- and third-rate artists, usually results in slick and pleasing prettiness. But the avidity, intelligence, and angry determination with which Miss O'Keeffe pursued this ideal were so great as to burst through all constraints until finally, against all the odds, she brought forth beauty that was distinctly her own.

Georgia O'Keeffe was born in Wisconsin in 1887 and came to New York in her twenties. Here she entered the circle of Alfred Stieglitz, whom she was later to marry. Thus she was present at the very inception of American Modernism, and her work would never disown entirely the forms and doctrines of that first stirring of the avant-garde on our shores. She subsequently came in contact with certain Art Deco and Social Realist trends in the Twenties and Thirties, but beyond this her development may be said to have stopped. Though she died only in 1986, having outlived by almost a generation most of the Abstract Expressionists, she seems to have had little use for their formal innovations, or for those of any subsequent artists.

To say that Miss O'Keeffe depicted a red poppy or a black iris gives no sense of what these paintings look like. Yet merely to describe the colors and forms won't do either. For the art of Georgia O'Keeffe consists above all else in a strained balance between the dictates of pure form and the claims of a real world that simply won't go away. Even when, as in her earliest works, she depicts odd, shapeless biomorphs, they are not so much abstractions as living, tactile things that we have never seen before and to which we can assign no name. Or they look like scrupulously observed landscapes on some planet other than our own. Several years later she had passed out of this late-Symbolist moodiness, to depict pyramids of colors in beautifully, thickly applied oranges, blues, yellows, and pinks, all coming together and curling around a central point. At the same time she can paint a bouquet of red cannas with the bright, alarming immediacy of one's own blood, or somehow transform the sedate, clear depiction

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of a bowl of grapes into a highly personal statement. She also did landscapes of New York's East River, in a style close to that of the Social Realists, but still memorably capturing something of the sleepiness of the city early one morning in the 1930s.

One of her most representative and best-known paintings is *Red Poppy*, in which she depicts a single flower, carefully observed and accurately delineated, but impossibly large. It spreads out monumentally with a sustained blast of redness, relieved only by the foldings in and out of the shagged petals. A similar, if more sinister, painting is *Black Iris*, also the massive depiction of a single flower, this time a harmony of blacks and greys and beiges, with all the intricacy of a trap from which there is no escape. In these paintings, as in those later ones, after her move to New Mexico, that depict shells and the skulls and bones of cattle, Miss O'Keeffe has been inspired by the photographs of Paul Strand and Edward Weston. Thus, even when she skimps on the process of painting itself, as she tends to do in her later works, her creations still have the merits of fine photography.

In a sense, one feels a little uncertain as one praises her, because the formal premise of her paintings, that uneasy compromise between formalism and representation, gave no reason to expect that she could create anything as fine as what she in fact did. It is only when we look at the works themselves that this achievement comes to seem as obvious and timeless as a fact of nature. □

DELECTATIONS

DANCING GIRLS FOR DESSERT

Nika Hazelton

A LIFETIME OF having people over for dinner has taught me not to believe guests who say they don't want dessert. I know that the same people would feel deprived if they were not served something sweet after their meal of a roast, vegetables, and salad—and that, if coaxed a little, they will dig into their dessert with the best, and sometimes even come back for seconds. Poor ignorant sods, I say to myself, don't they know that human nature has always required something sweet after a solid meal?

The truth is, desserts are here to stay. Woe to the cook who does not provide a sweet ending to a meal. If he or she can't spare the time and energy to make desserts, I suggest a chocolate bonbon and a little glass of sweet wine. The bonbon must be first class, however; if the money to buy first-class chocolates is not there, I would serve sliced oranges or, for a change of pace, frozen berries.

A clever friend of mine, a dessert-lover himself, once mused that desserts have long been linked with sex—if dancing girls cannot be provided at the end of a meal, a good dessert has to take their place. The reason Americans love dessert so much, he explained, is that dancing girls are not easy to come by in this country, and would not necessarily be welcome anyway at the end of a family meal, so we have become accustomed to dessert instead. (I have tried to imagine what guests would say if I brought out a cohort of dancing girls one evening instead of chocolate mousse, but even my fertile imagination balks at this.)

Another thing I have noticed is that far too many cooks underestimate the power of a good dessert to impress. Men especially are lovers of sweets, particularly when the dish is rich and preferably made with chocolate. And both men and women admire the cook who has put him- or herself out to make a grand finale to a dinner.

The best dessert is a rich, dark, sensuous chocolate mousse, which invariably pleases. Chocolate mousse also has the advantage that it *must* be made a day ahead to ripen properly. Another dessert that has made guests swoon in my house is meringues filled with whipped cream. I am not speaking of little dried-out confections, but of large, airy half-globes stuck together with loads of vanilla-flavored whipped cream. With nostalgia, I remember the Swiss meringues I enjoyed in the Emmenthal, in the Bernese Alps. The inn, which served wonderful food, was a large, comfortable country place that resembled its customers, stately men and women in their Sunday best. It was heart-warming to see these Swiss stalwarts spooning up their meringues after a fine dinner of veal roast,

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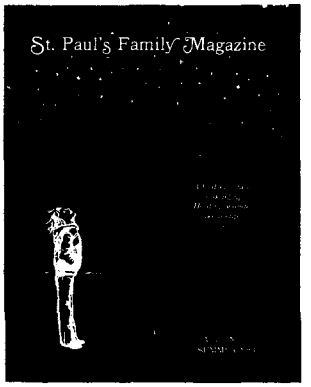

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potatoes, and fresh vegetables. I still dream of those Emmenthal meringues, snowy-white inside, crunchy and off-white outside, with whipped cream unlike any other whipped cream I have ever eaten.

Besides being good to eat, fancy desserts are fun to make. The recipe for my classic chocolate mousse follows —but remember that it must be made well ahead of time. *En avant!*

Classic Chocolate Mousse

4 ounces (4 squares) dark, unsweetened chocolate, such as Baker's
¾ cup sugar
¼ cup water or coffee
5 eggs, separated
1 teaspoon vanilla flavoring or 1 tablespoon brandy, kirsch, or orange liqueur

Melt the chocolate, sugar, and water or coffee together in the top of a double boiler over hot (not boiling) water. Beat in the egg yolks one at a time, beating well after each addition. Remove the double-boiler top from the bottom and cool the chocolate mixture. Stir in the flavoring. Beat the egg whites until very stiff. Fold them gently, but thoroughly, into the chocolate mixture.

Spoon into little white soufflé dishes (the classic French way) or into a dessert bowl. Cover the mousse with plastic wrap or foil so that it will not absorb odors. Chill no less than 12 hours, but preferably 24 hours, in the refrigerator. Do *not* freeze. The consistency must be spongy, and only long chilling achieves this. Serve the mousse with a dollop of sweetened cream or sour cream, or with a sprinkling of salted chopped almonds.

Makes 6 to 8 servings. □

THE GIMLET EYE

REFLECTIONS DURING LENT

D. Keith Mano

And, behold, one came and said unto him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life? . . .

Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast,

and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me.

But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions.

—Matthew 19:16, 21-22

The injunction is absolute. "Go and sell . . ." No statement in Scripture has so perplexed and saddened and, finally, demoralized the Christian communion. It is an ultimatum: no less than that. And we are hamstrung by it. I may credibly intend, soon, to abjure lust, pride, sloth. But neither you nor I mean to beggar ourselves, even for an exquisite salvation. Because of that, neither you nor I have ever been entirely comfortable with Him. We remain at one critical remove from Jesus: and our atonement is deficient.

Later He said, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Karl Marx may have articulated and regularized Communism—but Jesus Christ, Our Savior, makes it viable today, gives it high morale, even after more than half a century of abject failure. Each new diatribe against capitalism is justified and sustained by Western guilt. Because Western thought, political or theological, has never dealt with Jesus' powerful adjuration to poverty. At some level we feel shame earning one cent over the meanest subsistence wage: and we cede an absurd ethical advantage to pirates and assassins. The suicide of the West has been prepared for in Matthew 19.

And yet Jesus' mind, you might say, is thoroughly bourgeois. In large degree Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John are *about* money. It must have been a most materialistic time, A.D. 33. The Temple, we know, was half stock exchange, half shopping mall. Jesus, with high disdain, said, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's . . ." And yet, scrupulously, He made a fish cough up tribute money. Jesus had contempt for the legalism that would *count* good works or laws obeyed and then invoice God for His blessing. And yet Jesus' language is that of an arbitrageur. Almost half the parables, I would guess, have to do with money or trade. And why? Because money and trade are *emblems* —emblems, respectively, for salvation and a way to earn salvation.

Here let me examine the most difficult parable in Scripture. A steward, you may remember, has been caught misappropriating funds by his lord. He is threatened with dismissal. But, anticipating that event, the steward canvasses those tradesmen who owe his lord money—he could use an influential friend here and there. By forging documentation he reduces the indebtedness of each. This, no way around it, is a major swindle. What did Jesus say? "And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely: for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light. . . . If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?"

That true richness is love, spirit, grace—all the fit appurtenances of a transcendent existence. Throughout His teaching Jesus referred to salvation as treasure, most memorably thus: "But lay up for yourself treasures in heaven . . . For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also"—a psychological insight so acute George Gilder might have written it. Salvation is to be accumulated, stored away, invested, worked at with diligence. In fact—for all that apparent anti-materialism—the Gospel espouses free-market doctrine. Men are driven by self-interest. It is crucial, however, to transvalue that self-interest: at some point a love of God must replace practical concerns. Still, the mechanics are quite similar. Those who would join Him in paradise must first put their talent out to usury.

God is not, after all, naïve. He doesn't slight the world of commerce and material self-improvement. Indeed,

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that world has often served as His paradigm. "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness"—no one can comprehend salvation until he has developed, if you will, the capitalist instinct. Christianity, its long tradition of asceticism notwithstanding, can take fire in an open, complex economic milieu and no other. Where men are enslaved they have little expectation, financial or otherworldly. I mean: the belief that *reward will come from deserving and effort* is a precondition of faith in God. Confidence must exist between employer and employed. Only those who have been paid for their labor by a master will expect just recompense from the Master, and work toward it.

Would any of this make Christ's injunction less absolute? God forbid. At a decisive moment, the purpose of our traffic in this world must be transferred from material getting to reverent obedience. "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." Adverse purposes enervate—anyone with a management degree will tell you that. But mammon, materialism cannot be so cheaply equated with greed or lust: those are extremes

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

ACCORDING TO its authors, *Buying into America: How Foreign Money Is Changing the Face of Our Nation* (Times Books, $19.95), by Martin and Susan Tolchin, had its inception in a conversation with Senator Jim Sasser (D., Tenn.), who had recently won reelection. An issue in the campaign had been a bill, strongly opposed by his Republican opponent, that would have required every automobile sold in the United States to contain parts manufactured here. Sasser's neutrality on this bill, he discovered, offended executives of Nissan, U.S.A. (a wholly owned subsidiary of a Japanese multinational corporation that operates a truck factory in Smyrna, Tennessee), who, after seeking advice from company officials in Tokyo and Washington, D.C., offered political and financial support to Sasser's challenger. "Nissan's entry into American politics," the Tolchins write, "intrigued us. We soon discovered that Nissan was not an isolated case . . ."

"In the most pragmatic nation in the world," they observe, "most Americans don't care where the money comes from so long as it provides jobs and stimulates economic growth." Similarly, most mayors and governors don't care who dumps out the cash flow that lifts their gashed and leaky economies from the mud and refloats them, however soddenly; nor do federal officials lie awake at night worrying over who buys the Treasury notes that finance the federal debt. And there are plenty of voices, in fact, to argue that they shouldn't. According to the optimists, the current flood of foreign investment is as American as the dollar bill. They talk brightly of freedom of opportunity, exalt the "global economy," and denounce "xenophobia." They cite the creation by overseas investors of three million jobs, the stimulation of the stock market, an increase in real-estate values, the preservation of agricultural land, the influx of new technology, and a positive effect on the balance-of-payments impasse. They are increasingly opposed in their Pollyanna-ism, however, by people like Paul A. Volcker, former Chairman of the Federal Reserve, who has said: "In a real sense we have been fortunate that funds have flowed so freely to the U.S. in recent years, reflecting to a considerable extent widespread confidence in our prospects. But it is clearly not healthy for the largest and richest country in the world—in its own interest or that of others—to use up so much of the world's savings to finance a budget deficit." These people fear, in addition, that the United States, through its addiction to foreign capital, is placing itself at the mercy of foreign investors who, by withdrawing their money of a sudden, have it in their power to wreck the American economy.

Estimates of the sum total of foreign investment in the United States vary considerably, owing to lax reporting requirements, hidden ownership, and other circumventions. A reasonable, often-cited figure, however, is $1.5 trillion, up from $196 billion in 1974. Approximately 80 per cent of this sum is in portfolio securities, and foreign investors currently hold over $200 billion (or better than 10 per cent) of the national debt; they also own 16 per cent of the country's bank assets. Foreign companies have bought heavily into American oil and gas companies, the auto and parts industries, real estate, and Wall Street itself, where "foreign bankers are playing an increasing role in setting the nation's priorities." After Britain, the Netherlands, and Japan, the countries that have invested most heavily in the U.S. are West Germany, Switzerland, France, Kuwait, Australia, and Sweden.

The optimists are quick to remind us that intensive foreign investment is historically the economic norm for the U.S. The Tolchins reply by pointing out that it is one thing for a growing young nation to build its industrial infrastructure with foreign money, and quite another for a mature, industrially developed giant to support its habit of overconsumption with that money. While most countries carefully screen investment and business activities from abroad, the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States is a notorious paper tiger, which "has never, to anyone's knowledge, blocked a foreign investment." Meanwhile, delegations from all fifty states are busily running around in the foreign capitals, wheeling and dealing to make exorbitant offers to foreign companies to relocate or set up branches in the U.S. (at the American taxpayers' expense and often at that of American companies), cutting each other's throats, and effectively creating their own foreign policies. "Foreign firms that locate in the United States," the Tolchins claim, "can expect the same political benefits as American business—sometimes more. . . . There is little recognition that some of these foreign businessmen have hidden agendas, including the destruction of American competitors and the acquisition of American technology."

The Tolchins conclude, intelligently, that the "global economy" is by no means synonymous with free trade, and that the American counterstrategy should be to beat foreign capital at its own game—that is to say, to make the most of its benefits, while substantially reducing the risks to national sovereignty that that capital at present represents. □

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of worldliness. Materialism, in itself, is not evil: it is merely inadequate and distracting: a stage in Christian development. Those who paralyze human souls by condemning them for their God-created nature encourage despair —the one unmanageable sin.

"Who then can be saved?" His disciples said. The precarious condition of rich folk had taken them aback. "With men this is impossible," Jesus said, "but with God all things are possible." I do hope so. I know that His sacrifice on the cross was a magnificent transaction. I know it has value. It is a prospectus for the new world. A warranty of life unending. We have gone to contract, He and I. And I anticipate a salvation paid for—at wholesale price—with just my slim per cent of certain silver pieces. □

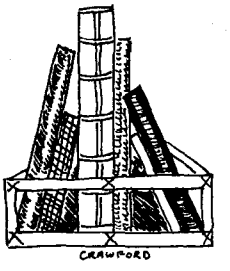
BOOKS IN BRIEF

Laughing Matters: A Celebration of American Humor, selected and edited by Gene Shalit (Doubleday, 622 pp., $24.95)

GENE SHALIT, who is a pretty funny fellow himself on the *Today* show, here collects scores of cartoons, pieces of movie scripts, poems, essays, and short stories in a fine, fat omnibus. He does not strive for completeness, but includes only what he likes, which is nearly the same thing. Benchley, Perelman, Dorothy Parker, Woody Allen, Bob & Ray—the staples of anthologies of this kind—are all represented, along with cartoonists Ed Koren, Jeff MacNelly, James Thurber, and George Booth. He also reprints a few harder-to-find items, like Mark Twain on "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses," Frank Sullivan's cliché expert, and Casey Stengel's congressional testimony; in an inspired act, he pairs Russell Baker's "Francs and Beans" with the piece that inspired it, Craig Claiborne's "Just a Quiet Dinner for Two in Paris: 31 dishes, nine wines, a $4,000 check." The Baker piece earns its place in any pantheon like this, and incidentally excuses any and all political columns he might write for the rest of his life. Shalit wisely excludes old wheezes like Irvin Cobb and Artemus Ward, but he does miss a few humorists of the top chop. There is no Jean Shepherd, for instance. And no George Ade. And no P. J. O'Rourke. Surely, we could have done with a little less Fran Lebowitz, or Garry Trudeau, or Garrison Keillor in exchange. Aside from those few flaws, however, *Laughing Matters* is packed with yuks, many of them of the out-loud variety, which is the measure of success of any humor anthology. JOE MYSAK

Red Horizons: Chronicles of a Communist Spy Chief, by Ion Mihai Pacepa (Regnery Gateway, 446 pp., $19.95)

AMERICANS to whom Rumania is known mainly for its vampires will not be disappointed by *Red Horizons*: in the role of Count Dracula's reincarnation, Nicolae Ceausescu adds ideological sophistication, indeed genius, to the legendary medieval figure's cruelty. If this book were fiction, it would have to reside in the category of "horror, Gothic." For Ceausescu, the self-proclaimed "Brother" of both Libyan strongman Muammar Qaddafi and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, uses the latest available technology—including cancer-causing radiation—to liquidate those who criticize him, both within and outside Rumania, and to steal Western technology to feed his obsessive lust for power. The blood he drains is simultaneously that of his own people and that of the West, which has been duped into complacency regarding this allegedly independent Soviet colony. It is in explaining Ceausescu's successful deception of the West that *Red Horizons* is most devastating. The phrase "Red Horizons" is actually a code, standing for a secret disinformation operation of the DIE (Rumania's KGB). General Pacepa should know: as deputy chief of the DIE and personal advisor to Ceausescu from the early Sixties until his defection to the United States in 1978, he saw it all happen. His long-awaited testimony touches on the most spectacular tip of the iceberg that took him over three years to reveal, painstakingly, to the CIA. Pacepa describes Ceausescu's fascination with the Libyan leader, and their intimate friendship following a visit to Tripoli in the early 1970s. The year 1974 marked the beginning of intensive cooperation between the two security forces, the exchange of foreign passports (stolen or counterfeited) becoming its most important aspect. Pacepa also describes the joint venture of the Cega, a Rumanian-Libyan tank named after its godfathers, "*Ce*ausescu-*Ga*dafi," to be built on the model of NATO's Leopard II with West German knowhow. Rumania's theft of the Leopard engine is detective-story material, illustrating DIE's multifaceted techniques for obtaining high technology from the West. But surely one of the most important commodities Rumania has obtained from West Germany—and from Israel —is hard currency, as payment for Germans and Jews allowed to emigrate. "Oil, Jews, and Germans are our best commodities," Ceausescu used to say. Treating people as commodities is perhaps endemic to the ideology that Ceausescu, having learned it in Moscow in the mid 1950s, has never abandoned. Intensively instructed by Nikita Khrushchev in the use of the microphone for security purposes, Ceausescu introduced the most ubiquitous surveillance system in the Communist bloc. And Ceausescu follows surveillance with action. Faced with popular rebellion, as in 1977 when some 35,000 miners asked for a semblance of freedom and a better life, Ceausescu retaliates brutally, throwing the leaders into psychiatric hospitals and destroying the strikers and their families—while making sure, above all, that the West knows as little about any of this as possible. In manipulating Western perceptions, Ceausescu is truly a master. In exchange for supplying Western theorists of Eurocommunism with the illusion of independence from Moscow, Rumania obtained "most-favored nation" status from the U.S., and with it the political legitimacy that further enhanced its espionage capabilities. General Pacepa keeps himself in the background of this book, but from certain scenes, a portrait does emerge, of a man who during many of his years in this infernal organization prayed secretly, daily, to the God Who would some day save him. His daughter, Dana, an artist, is now subjected to constant harassment by the secret police. The book is dedicated to her and her husband, in the (probably vain) hope that they too might one day join him in freedom. JULIANA GERAN PILON



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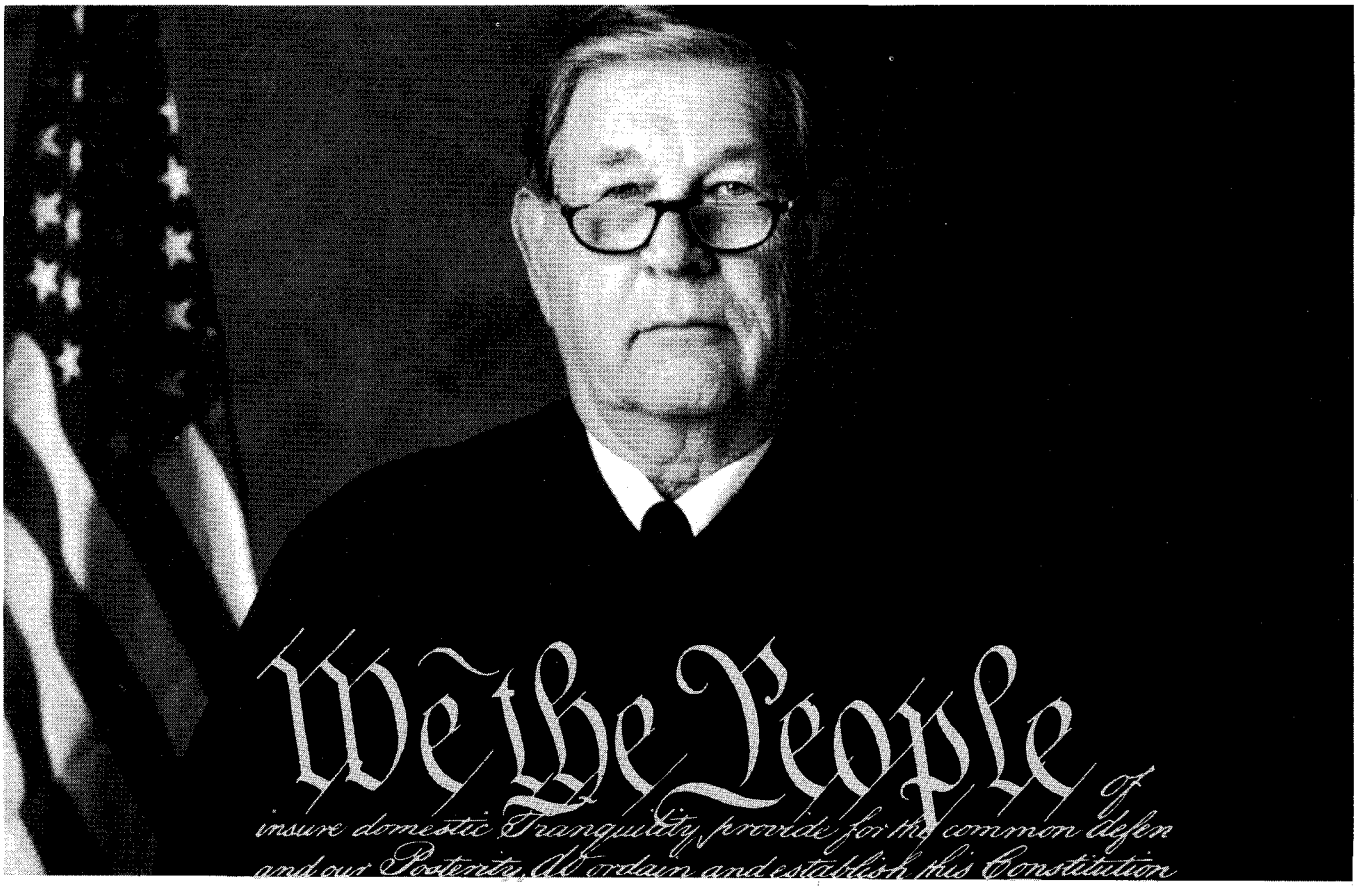
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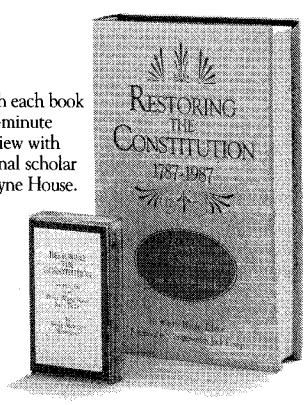

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322 pp. New York: Random House. $17.95.

By Robin W. Winks

AMONG the strands of suspicion that worked loose in the months after John F. Kennedy's assassination was one to the effect that Lee Harvey Oswald had fired his lethal shot with the blessings, indeed the encouragement, of Fidel Castro. The Warren Commission's published exhibits alluded to this possibility. In 1977 the former CBS News reporter Daniel Schorr concluded in the New York Review of Books that Mr. Castro had influenced Oswald; and in 1983, in "Oswald's Game," Jean Davison wrote that Mr. Castro's public warning, in which he accused J.F.K. and the C.I.A. of attempting to assassinate him and promised that he would not hesitate to retaliate in kind, inspired Oswald's action. By then, Senator Frank Church's Select Committee on Intelligence had long since unearthed the existence of a covert action program called Operation Mongoose, the admitted purpose of which was to overthrow the Castro regime.

In "Mongoose R.I.P.," William F. Buckley Jr. takes these and other facts and weaves them into a remarkably complex, compelling and literate thriller, the eighth novel to reveal the exploits of C.I.A. operative Blackford Oakes, Yale '51, over 12 years of service with the agency. The first of this succession, "Saving the Queen," had the audacious Oakes bed Her Majesty in order to save the British Empire, or what was left of it in the 1950's; the best, until now, took Oakes to Berlin and revealed behind "Stained Glass" the perverse nature of political truth; and the sixth, "See You Later Alligator," brought Oakes to Cuba, a country Mr. Buckley proved to be both well informed about and sympathetic toward. Now, as he tries to put Operation Mongoose to rest, Mr. Buckley, Yale '50, gives us his best book — fiction or nonfiction.

As is usual with spy thrillers, "Mongoose R.I.P." combines several separate stories, all of them converging in the end. Here is the story of how a Wild Bill Hicock of the C.I.A. repeatedly tried to kill Mr. Castro: with exploding cigars, poisoned wet suits and through the intervention of a former porno film star who shares Mr. Castro's bed. Over there is the story of how Oakes, working through an intermediary in Mexico City, one Consuelo, provides a former Cuban revolutionary, Rolando Cubela, with the means of assassinating Mr. Castro. Down here, in the underbrush, is the story of how Ingenio Tamayo, Mr. Castro's chief "persuader," seizes on a disaffected Russian who is with the large contingent left in Cuba after the presumed withdrawal of Nikita Krushchev's 42 missiles, to program one missile, secretly left behind, to strike at the United States. Up overhead someplace is the story of the unraveling of Oakes's longtime love affair with Sally Partridge, who stuns him with a letter telling the young Priapus that she has married someone else. And coming along quietly toward the end is an account of a remarkable relationship between a K.G.B. officer with the unlikely name of Pushkin and a bright Cuban soldier who above all wants to be a physicist. Each of these stories is fascinating in its detail, yet the detail of each dovetails with the detail of the whole, like a marvelously built dry-stone wall.

Rising above these five stories is the encompassing battle between two powerful, self-centered personalities, the leaders of Cuba and the United States. Mr. Castro is by far the more commanding figure here, strutting on and off stage, moving the action in a new direction whenever he wants. It is Mr. Castro who is the instrument of the closing scene, which presents Oakes, and the reader, with a dilemma of irony, wit and tragedy. This combination is Mr. Buckley's speciality.

THERE are, of course, the accustomed Buckley twists throughout the book, though his delight in obscure words has been curbed somewhat. We find Oakes reading the letters of Whittaker Chambers to one William F. Buckley Jr. The author of "God and Man at Yale" tells us that an academic is "a man of amorphous figure and shriveled countenance designed to bloom only in library stacks." At one point Mr. Castro is saved from death because he wants a Coca-Cola. In his rich particularity of detail, Mr. Buckley convinces us that his research (or the work of his research assistant) has been exacting, and that we are close to seeing the inside of a real operation. Many of the figures who populate these pages are part of history: not just J.F.K. and Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and Osvaldo Dorticos, but also Rolando Cubela, who is described in sensitive detail, and others.

Still, this is not history. Mr. Buckley tells us that Cubela killed Colonel Blanco Rico as he emerged from Sunday morning Mass when, in fact, this chief of military intelligence was gunned down early one Sunday morning as he left the night club Montmartre. He tells us that a Senator from New York, Kenneth Keating, revealed the fact that a single missile had been left behind by the Russians and builds from this a central premise of his story. And though Keating did say something very like this, there surely can not have been — surely not? — such a missile, or it would have been used by now, perhaps very much as Mr. Buckley suggests it would have been. But we find ourselves half believing as we read, and why not, for the story is half true, and the other half is compelling evidence of why we all ought to send out for a Coca-Cola now and then. □

Robin W. Winks is a professor of history at Yale University. His most recent book is "Cloak and Gown: Scholars in the Secret War."

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WHO'S WINNING, THE AFGHANS OR THE RUSSIANS?

NEW YORK, FEB. 29

THIS IS the week in which the future of Afghanistan is supposed to come up on the international agenda. The meeting place is (as usual) Geneva. And the scheduled principals are Pakistan (up to a point, a client state of the United States) and the "government" of Afghanistan (in every respect, a client creation of the Soviet Union). So that it is not unrealistic to say that the United States and the Soviet Union are scheduled in the next few days to decide the fate of Afghanistan.

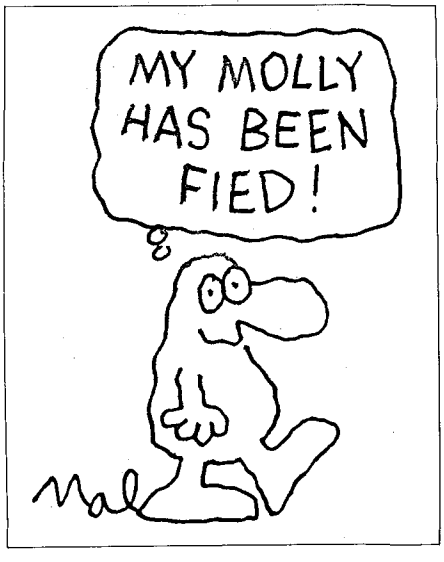
In the reports one reads on the frame of mind of the Mujahedin—the Afghan patriots who have resisted the Soviet colossus with the help, in different forms, of Iran, Pakistan, China, and the United States—insufficient attention is given to what it is that the Soviet Union has done to Afghanistan during the past eight years. In such cases analogies are useful.

Let us suppose that a huge amphibious operation against a relatively unarmed United States had been initiated simultaneously on our Pacific and our Atlantic seaboards. In the course of eight years the aggressors (let us call them the Huts) had killed 25 million Americans and had caused another fifty million Americans to flee to Canada and to Mexico, whence they waged their war of resistance. Washington was quickly taken over by the Huts and a stooge installed, who declared himself the head of the government of the United States.

After eight years, the Huts find themselves marginally overpreoccupied with the war against the United States, which in any event imposes on them a diplomatic overhead that gets in their way in dealing with other issues. So they propose to "pull out" of the United States. But they want certain reassurances which they find altogether reasonable. The first is that the government in Washington should be a "coalition" government heavily pro-Hut. The second is that during the change of scene, none of the powers that had been helping the American resistance via Canada and Mexico should continue to do so: that assistance must stop immediately. The American resistance headquarters responds that it is not interested in coalition government with a power that murdered 25 million Americans and drove another fifty million abroad. But the resistance finds itself facing huge, solemn diplomatic faces representing this and that international interest and insisting that the time has really come to be reasonable about the Huts' little American adventure—that, after all, the Huts' willingness to withdraw their armed forces from America is a sign of good faith.

The very best roundup on the Afghan scene recently published is by Miss Lally Weymouth in the *Washington Post*. All the relevant arguments are there, and she has talked with representatives from Iran, from Pakistan, from the Mujahedin, and—most significantly, because it is most frequently ignored—from China.

"Although President Zia [of Pakistan] is often portrayed as a hard-liner," she writes, "Chinese officials and analysts take an even tougher position—skeptical of Soviet intentions to withdraw from Afghanistan and convinced that increased aid to the resistance is the key to removing the Soviets from Afghanistan. Chinese defense analysts at the Beijing Institute of Strategic Studies express doubt that the Soviets are sincere in their stated intention to withdraw from Afghanistan. 'The Soviet condition is that the United States and other countries stop interference,' says one expert. 'For the United States and China to cut off the resistance is a condition that must not be accepted.' "



But in our autohypnotic scrambling of foreign-policy priorities, we seem to care more about proving to the Soviet Union that we trust its protestations of *perestroika*, than we do about persuading the Afghans that we consider the murder of one-tenth of their population and the exile of one-third of it as on the dark side of an offense that warrants a ticket for double parking. The very idea that we should elect this moment—of all moments—even to consider letting up on the military pressures that have caused the Soviet Union even to consider withdrawal suggests a collapse in our capacity to think good, rational, rectilinear thought. Our position on the Soviet Union should be that a) it should withdraw all its forces and be satisfied with qualified amnesty for its brummagem Afghan "diplomats," and b) Afghan claims for $70 billion (a figure most recently cited as roughly appropriate) for reparations should be pressed by all the relevant agencies, diplomatic, economic, and political, as a modest compensation for Soviet genocide.

Never cut off the enemy's line of retreat, Machiavelli taught us. But that is different from any counsel that we, rather than the enemy, should retreat. □

THE MISTS CLEARING

NEW YORK, FEB. 26

CROWDED primaries are such an eclectic and temperamental mess, observers are naturally attracted to signs & symbols. We are told now that by hard calculation, Senator Albert Gore has decided to become a hawk, almost as though he had yesterday approached his parents and told them he was going to join the Marines. Jesse Jackson is a new man, a shriven presidential candidate substantially free of left-wing cant and ritual anti-Semitism.

But insights into personality are held to be of especial value. Thus Mr. Dole's graceless remark to Bush—"Stop lying about my record"—is said by pundit David Broder to have hurt Dole as much as his loss in New Hampshire hurt him. It may be that many voters' conception of Robert Dole is permanently altered by having witnessed this scene. That kind of thing happened to me

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once. In 1952 I was at the railroad station in Stamford, Connecticut, to witness a whistle-stop event featuring President Harry Truman and the Democratic candidate for Senate, William Benton. Truman appeared, as was traditional in those days, at the rear of the caboose and began his five-minute adjuration (a total of ten minutes had been assigned to each of the railroad stops, Hartford–Greenwich). A 12-year-old boy perching on a tree limb twenty feet above the track yelled out in soprano voice, "Tell us about the red herring, Harry." That year was the high noon of McCarthyism, and Truman had flippantly dismissed the indictment of Alger Hiss as a "red herring," but now Hiss stood convicted. Truman's reply could not have been more inept if it had been maliciously scripted for him by Everett Dirksen. "Young man, that is no way to speak to the President of the United States." There was a sigh of embarrassment all the way around at this pompous, self-important handling of youthful iconoclasm. The lines left to be said were hurried through and the train pulled out. Others there never thought quite the same of Harry Truman.

This may have happened to Bob Dole, who is a man with a temper—a characteristic that hardly disqualifies him from the Presidency, one should note. The man against whom Truman was inveighing at Stamford that day was Dwight Eisenhower. And Ike's temper, though celebrated in the books as short-lived, however explosive, in the case of Truman reached all the way to Inauguration Day. The tradition was always for the President about to be sworn in to get out of his car, walk into the White House, and escort the incumbent into the car. Eisenhower refused to do this. He simply sat in the car and waited for Truman to join him. Perhaps Truman then said to him, "General, that is no way to treat the President of the United States."

There are abundant reasons to oppose Dole. Mine have to do with his amorphous positions on public issues. That he has voted on Reagan's side 87 per cent of the time, or whatever the figure is, tells us nothing more than that he thought it politically wise to vote on that side at that time, on that issue. His public appearances as a primary candidate have consisted in giving both sides on an issue, and then going on to the next question, without aligning himself with one or the other side. The best example of this has been his attitude toward the INF treaty. At first he was simply opposed to it. Then he wanted to see it, before deciding finally: and now he is an enthusiast for it, opposition to the treaty having given way to the juggernaut of disarmament popularity. These are the reasons for finding Mr. Dole less than an ideal candidate, not his short temper. A very good case can be made for a shorter temper at the White House than is sometimes exhibited. LBJ's temper was an instrument of executive dynamism.

Dole will live to fight again, and of course Bush is back in the race. The withdrawal of Pete du Pont is an important development for conservatives, whose votes have been distributed among several candidates. Pat Robertson is simply not going to win the nomination, and is therefore of interest only in the way that George Wallace was of interest to Nixon: a vote for Wallace was a vote Nixon was not going to get for himself. A vote for Robertson is a vote that would otherwise probably go to Kemp. It is the surpassing mystery of the season that Kemp does not reflect the strength his principles rally. Perhaps the reason for it is the centrifugal forces set up by Haig, du Pont, Robertson. There is still a slim chance left for Kemp, who, unlike Dole, is unlikely to attract attention to any character flaw. □

REPEAL THE 22ND?

NEW YORK, MARCH 7

MR. REAGAN has several times recorded his opposition to the 22nd Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibits a President from running for a third term. He has made it clear that even assuming the Amendment were repealed yesterday, or that it had never been enacted, he would not himself run for a third term. He says this plausibly because of his age. If he were the age Theodore Roosevelt was when he left office, having served almost a full two terms (McKinley was shot six months after his inauguration), one would greet the disavowal of ambition skeptically.

No, Reagan believes it. He will tell you that the American people have the right to vote as many times as they like not only for a senator or representative, but also for a President. "I intend to campaign when I get out of here on the subject." Reminded that tradition can achieve the same prestige as law, he replies that the tradition was set by George Washington "at a time when people were afraid of the restoration of the monarchy."

When Franklin Roosevelt decided to run for a third term he flouted the tradition, and during the campaign of 1940 much was made of FDR's narcissism. By the time the fourth term came up, Roosevelt was confirmed in the imperial manner, sometimes acting in such a way as to betray what Karl Wittfogel has called the megalomania of the aging despot. Mr. Reagan is quick to acknowledge that no man should run for the Presidency whose health is flagging. At the time Roosevelt ran in 1944, his doctors had privately confided to him that he was not fit to spend more than three hours a day at work. (If he had spent four hours a day, we'd have lost Western Europe also.)

Notwithstanding this considerable imposture (to run for office as a well man while your whole body is palpably atrophying), Roosevelt's supporters decried the 22nd Amendment. Elmer Davis called it "an act of retroactive vindictiveness." They could never beat him while he was alive, Davis said, so they beat him after he was dead. But it is by no means certain that a Roosevelt running in 1988 could bring off a third term.

What Mr. Reagan fails to take into account, I think, is the political metabolism of the American people. We are a culture that refuses to permit a morning news show to prolong a segment beyond six minutes. Whether Mr. Reagan delivers a thirty-minute speech or a three-minute speech, he will receive, maximum, ninety seconds on the evening news. This appetite for dispatch accelerated during the Sixties, and it wasn't until the Seventies that the networks resolved on the six-minute maximum for the morning shows. If Pythagoras appeared on a morning news program and had only got to two sides of his triangle at six minutes, we'd never know about the third side. That theatrical imperative for change affects the public appetite for yet another presidential term.

MR. REAGAN would no doubt reply that if that were so, why, let the people proceed to defeat the candidate seeking a third term. The trouble with that is that an incumbent is normally situated to enforce his own renomination—which has the effect, if a third term is frowned upon, of imposing a disqualifying burden on a party whose principles may be popular.

The volatility of public approval of a President's performance is illustrated by Mr. Reagan's own most recent ratings. After the stock-market crash in October he fell to 45 per cent approval. After he wined and dined Gorbachev, he shot up to 55 per cent. Today he is at 50. Truman had 25 per cent approval when he left office. That was just one more point than Nixon had (24) when he was forced to resign.

From such figures we can't deduce an overpowering popular mandate for a third term. Johnson could have run again, and elected not to do so, yielding his seat to a Republican. Ike could not have run again, but his successor was a Democrat. . . . If one stares at the figures long and hard enough, they begin to look like tea leaves. And they say to this soothsayer: Two terms is enough for a President. And if we are going to change the Constitution let's have a three-term limit for senators, and a five-term limit for congressmen. I can think of any number of congressmen for whom Mr. Reagan would welcome such a limit. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Gephardt's favorite gymnastic feat — F L I P F L O P / 10 55 105 137 84 69 3 23

B. Superior form of government — R E P U B L I C A N / 34 107 138 90 49 121 99 156 5 17

C. "Revenue enhancement" is one, so to speak — E U P H E M I S M / 139 155 103 20 9 82 53 64 40

D. He's a bear of a coach! — D I T K A / 148 42 76 106 136

E. One followed blindly — B E L I W E T H E R / 71 146 125 151 118 96 1 85 61 12

F. One of the seven dwarfs (full name) — A _ R E K _ C O R E / 108 38 115 124 27 154 68 11 74 134

G. Paddled about — R O W E D / 51 70 19 112 135

H. Sandman's milieu — N I G H T T I M E / 41 81 101 60 153 113 31 129 13

I. Occurrence — E V E N T / 157 109 77 100 59

J. Orate — S P E _ _ _ I _ _ / 143 126 86 28 36 133 46 58 6

K. Unusual — O F F B E A T / 63 150 79 8 56 140 93

L. Australian state (3 words) — N E W S O U T H W A L E S / 132 48 73 97 149 102 65 80 2 147 116 18 24

M. One of the seven dwarfs (full name) — _ A R Y _ _ _ _ / 111 50 95 35 123 21 141 87

N. Feeling — E M O T I O N / 110 32 89 14 131 66 52

O. One of the seven dwarfs (full name) — _ _ _ L _ _ M O N / 29 144 39 104 7 128 22 119 67

P. Santa's greeting (3 words) — H _ H O H O / 145 37 88 75 25 57

Q. Anchor position — A W E I G H / 142 130 117 26 91 15

R. Judges' wear — _ _ _ _ _ / 30 78 62 152 98

S. Creator of Athos — _ _ _ _ _ / 94 120 45 114 43

T. Dense — T H I C K H E A D E D / 44 127 83 54 47 92 16 33 122 72 4

1 E T	2 L W	3 A O		4 T D	5 B A	6 J Y	7 O S		8 K B	9 C E	10 A F	11 F O	12 E R	13 H E		14 N T	15 Q H	16 T E	
17 B U	18 L E	19 G W		20 C H	21 M A	22 O M	23 A P	24 L S	25 P H	26 Q I	27 F R	28 J K		29 O P	30 R R	31 H I	32 N M	33 T A	34 B R
35 M Y		36 J C	37 P C	38 F L	39 O U	40 C M	41 H N	42 D I	43 S S	44 T T		45 S A	46 J I	47 T K	48 L E		49 B B	50 M A	51 G R
52 N N	53 C I	54 T C	55 A L	56 K E		57 P O	58 J F		59 I T	60 H H	61 E E		62 R B	63 K O	64 C S	65 L T	66 N O	67 O U	
68 F G	69 A L	70 G C	71 E B	72 T E		73 L W	74 F R	75 P O	76 D T	77 I E		78 R O	79 K F		80 L H	81 H I	82 C M		83 T I
84 A F		85 E H	86 J E		87 M T	88 P H	89 N O	90 B U	91 Q G	92 T H	93 K T		94 S D	95 M R	96 E E	97 L S	98 R S	99 B I	100I N
101H G		102L U	103C P		104O I	105A I	106D K	107B E		108F A		109I V	110N E	111M G	112G E	113H T	114S A	115F B	116L L
117Q E		118E W	119O O	120S U	121B L	122T D		123M H	124F E	125E L	126J P		127T H	128O I	129H M		130Q W	131N I	132L N
	133J W	134F E	135G D		136D A	137A P	138B P	139C E	140K A	141M R		142Q A	143J		144O A		145P H	146E E	147L A
148D D		149L O	150K F		151E L	152R E	153H T	154F T	155C U	156B C	157I F								

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 62 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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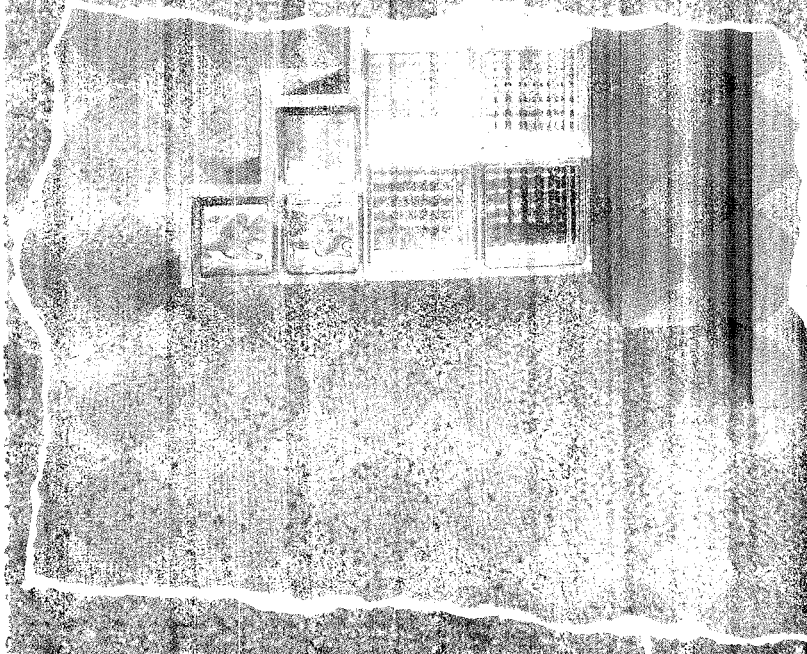
PREMIER VISION



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Symphony in Grey.™
The keystone color
others are only
just evolving to,
with design clarity
and precision
beyond
today's frontier.
A grouping from
Premier Vision™
that's as bold
as your concept
of Tomorrow.**

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